

8

~~Secret~~

File No. C/551/12/93-JP
Vol. II

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

विदेश मंत्रालय
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

DECLASSIFIED

नई दिल्ली
NEW DELHI

EA-2n

फाइल नं०
FILE NO.

C/551/12/93-JP

खण्ड
VOLUME

(अरुण कुमार चटर्जी)
(ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE)
संयुक्त सचिव (सी.एन.वी.)
Joint Secretary (CNV)
विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय
Subject

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

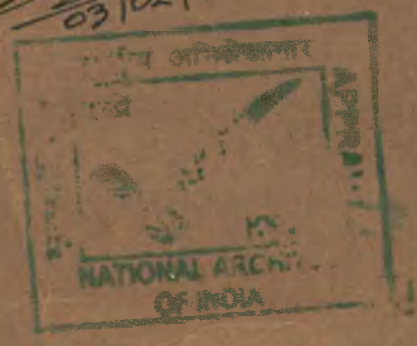
Section
1 to 15)
1 to 68)
1 to 306)
Total 321

पिछले हवाले
Previous Reference

No C/551/7/92-JP
Keep 03/02/16

बाद के हवाले
Later Reference

Notes: P1 to P15
Cob 1: P1 to P306
Total 321



2306/JS(AD)/94
30/6/94

(1)

1679/Dir(AD)/94
16/6
File no C/557/12/93 Vol-II
CWL
secret/vizat
11051/PS/om
117

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

sw 1-7 Added

SW(8)FR

Subject : Controversy regarding the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

JS(AP) may kindly see with reference to FR, a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, M.P. to MOS(RLB) and FS's minutes on the FR.

2. Prof. Guha and Shri Dinesh Goswami, Members of Parliament had written to the then Prime Minister, Shri Chandrasekhar, seeking a high-level enquiry into the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

3. Vide PMO's endorsement No. 870/11/P/10/91 dated 24.4.1991 (Flag 'A'), Director(PMO) had informed the MEA, that "no further action is required by Ministry of External Affairs in view of the recent CCPA decision that no useful purpose would be served by yet another enquiry". Therefore, no enquiry was instituted by the Ministry of External Affairs.

4. Thereafter, the then Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri Digvijay Singh had acknowledged Prof. Samar Guha's letter to the then Deputy Prime Minister Shri Devi Lal on the issue (Flag 'B') on March 26, 1991, indicating that "Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiry". This communication has been interpreted by Prof. Samar Guha as indication that a high-level enquiry was instituted by the Chandrashekhar Government. Subsequent to this letter of the then Minister of State for External Affairs, which has been reproduced in Prof. Guha's pamphlet titled "Country must know what happened to Netaji" on page 7, Prof. Samar Guha has sought to know from the Ministry of External Affairs regarding the results of the "enquiry", several times.

4. Shri Dinesh Singh, EAM, has written to Prof. Guha on May 25, 1993 (Flag C) replying to his various letters on the subject.

(Dr. Madhup Mohta)
Deputy Secretary (A.P.)
16.6.1994

Director(A.P.)

h-29/6/94

JS(A.P.)

29/6

FS.

Ministry of External Affairs
Office of Joint Secretary (AP)

.....

2480/JS(AR)/ay

13/7/94

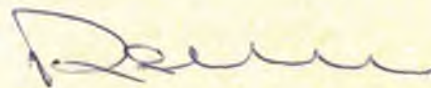
11788/FS/ay
13/7

3342/JS(AR)/ay
20/7

As desired by FS, matter was discussed by me with MOS(RLB). MOS(RLB) directed that we should put an end to this long-standing correspondence, since no new conclusive evidence has emerged. MOS(RLB) suggested that the onus should be put on Shri Samar Guha to produce such evidence, failing which there was little extra that we could do.

Accordingly, a draft letter is placed below from MOS(RLB), addressed to Shri Pramod Mahajan and copy to Shri Samar Guha.

FS/MOS(RLB) may kindly see.



(R.S. Kalha)
Joint Secretary (AP)
13/7/94

dfc

13/7/94

FS
MOS(RLB)
FS

dfc
10/7


19/7/94

20/7/94

dfc

20/7

Dir (AP) 20/7

20/7

Dir (AR) 20/7

3882-JS(Coord)/94

2.8.94.

MOST IMMEDIATE/COURT CASE

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Transfer Petition (Civil) No.103 of 1994 read with SLP (Civil) No.628 of 1994 in writ petition C.O. No.6720(W) of 1993 filed by Shri Bijan Ghosh in the High Court of Calcutta relating to conferment of Bharat Ratna (posthumously) on Netaji Subash Chander Bose was heard in the Supreme Court of India on 2nd May, 1994, by a two Member Bench presided over by Hon'ble the Chief Justice of India. After hearing both the parties the Hon'ble two Member Bench ordered that the case pending in the Calcutta High Court be withdrawn to the Supreme Court and the Registry of the Supreme Court will take further necessary action. The Hon'ble two Member Bench also fixed 26th July, 1994 as next date of hearing.

2. The matter was listed on 26th July, 1994, but did not reach that day. However, on a subsequent request by Prof. Samar Guha, one of the added Respondents the Hon'ble two Member Bench presided over by Chief Justice of India was pleased to fix 4th August, 1994 to enable Shri Guha to present his case.

3. In connection with the hearing of the case on 4th August, 1994, a briefing meeting was taken by Additional Solicitor General, Shri Altaf Ahmed. During the discussions, Shri Ahmed desired that the relevant records relating to Shah Nawaz Khan Committee may be kept ready and made available to him for his perusal and deciding the further course of action in the matter. It is therefore, requested that special efforts may be made to locate the relevant files/ records under reference and the same made available to me by 3rd August, 1994.

M. Venkateswara Iyer
(M. Venkateswara Iyer)
Joint Secretary (Admn.)
Tel: 3015785 1.8.1994.

Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Vijay Kumar, Joint Secretary-Coordination)
MHA I.D. No.1/27/91-Public dated 1.8.1994.

1. B.P. Bhattacharya, U.S. R.N. 94C.
N.B.
2. 3012421
Sh. Sinha, Dir. 3016789.
Fax: 3015780.

Pl. locate and let me position by noon time of 3/8.
Thanks.
Y. Vamsi S.
2/8/94

Pl. locate & send it to them if available in the u.

Dir (AP)

SO (AP)

JSC (AP) does with Mr. Sinha & Mr. Guha
1/6
2/8

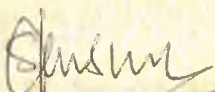
Netaji's file
1/6
5/8/94
Sh P.

- 4 -

No.77/Dir(EE)/94
Ministry of External Affairs
(Europe East Division)
...

Reference Coordination Division's note No.211/Coord/94 regarding the writ petition on the awarding of Bharat Ratna to Netaji.

2. AP Division is the nodal division in the Ministry, dealing with all matters pertaining to Netaji. All information available with EE Division has already been sent to AP Division. It is, therefore, understood that AP Division would take necessary action on the request made by JS(Coord).


(S Jaishankar)
Director(EE)
13.1.94

Dir(AP) - Smt. P R Sharma

Copy to JS(Coord), MEA, South Block, New Delhi.

(S Jaishankar)

SADGE

SNOs. 10 - 19 added.

20(A1)

A.P.Om.

3690/PSI/AR/7/94
11.7

As desired by Dir. (AP), we checked with MHA, Public In. (Shri Arun Kumar, S.O. - Tel: 3012421), whether the Govt had actually revoked its decision to confer Bharat Ratna to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose posthumously, as - flag-A reported in newspapers in Jan. 1994. They confirmed the report but said that no formal order in this regard was issued. PM had signed the file concerning the revocation of the decision to confer the award.

P Balakrishnan
SO (AP)

7.10.94.

For information pl.

Wams
7.10.94
Dir (AP)

Dir (AP)

JS (AP) O.Y.

Thms.

De

D (AP)

"/x

SATAP

11.10

Sl. P

Sr. No. 20

Dy. No. S/564 FR

submitted pl.

Recd. 19/X

~~SO(AR)~~

19/X/94

3856/JS(AP)/94
19.X.94

~~JS(AP)~~

JS had denied to see the file.
Submitted please.

JS(AP)

Yam
19/10/94

18096/JS(AP)/94
24/10/94

JS(AP)'s Office

FS would recall that Shri Ashis Ray had written to him regarding Netaji's ashes. FS may kindly see his reply at serial No. 17. In his letter, Shri Ashis Ray had basically made six points (flag A). Point no. 2, made by Shri Ashis Ray, was that the Japanese Government had confirmed Netaji's death and that this report existed in the Archives of our Embassy in Tokyo as also MEA. We had written to our Ambassador in this regard and his reply may please be seen at FR. The Japanese letter states that the cremation permit was in the name of Ichiro Okura. They have also stated that they believe that the cremation permit of Ichiro Okura must correspond to the case of the late Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. The fact of the matter is that both the enquiry commissions, appointed by the Government, confirmed that Netaji had died in an air crash at Taipei. Opponents of this, however, do not accept this and maintain that he is still alive. Separately, I understand that MHA is preparing a note for PMO and have asked a copy of this letter from our Ambassador. This is being sent to them.

3. FS may kindly see.

R.S. Kalha

(R.S. Kalha)
Joint Secy. (AP),
24/10/94.

JS/AP
24/10/94

~~FS~~

JS/AP

MHA have written a letter to which we have replied MHA letter is on NSO files

JS/AP

19/X

YV

25-10

JS(AP)

SO(AR)

K
26/10/94
JS

I request to
let the request in
writing from MHA
to see reply is
writing or not
JS

-7-


C/551/12/93-28

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

I had dinner with the Japanese Ambassador Mr. Chusei Yamada, last evening. During the course of the evening, he raised the question of Netaji's ashes, which are kept in Japan. He said that Netaji's daughter from his German wife, Mrs. Anita Bose Pfaff, is currently in India and had spoken to him a few days ago. She had expressed the desire that Netaji's ashes should not be kept in Japan much longer and should, if possible, be brought to India. She said that she will be discussing this matter with other members of Netaji's family and try to forge a consensus within the family. If this does not prove possible, she would like to take the ashes to her mother, who seems to live in Germany. (The Ambassador was not very clear whether she lives in Austria or Germany.) The Japanese Ambassador said that they feel that the wishes of the family would have to be given some weight and that they would be expected to respond to her request soon. The Ambassador did however tell her that they would need to consider GOI's reactions also. Mrs. Pfaff responded that she will be writing to PM on this matter. She also requested the Ambassador not to contact the Indian Government till she has had a chance to consult the family and to write to PM. He felt however that he must convey it to us, at least informally. He also wanted my reaction.

2. I said that I will naturally have to inform MEA. I also stressed that this matter was politically sensitive and one must proceed with caution. While the wishes of the family are no doubt important, Indians consider this a matter of national importance. The Ambassador confirmed that nothing is going to be done in a hurry. In any case, Mrs. Pfaff also felt that a proper ceremony would need to be held if ultimately it was decided (and agreed) to move the ashes. She felt that such a ceremony was perhaps best held at the time of the annual function to mark the death anniversary of Netaji, on August 17.

3. JS (AP) may like to examine this matter and seek Foreign Secretary's directions. In my further discussions with the Ambassador, I got the impression that the Japanese Government itself has no serious problems with the ashes continuing to stay in Tokyo. I will however be able to make an assessment only on my arrival in Tokyo.


(Kuldip Sahdev)
Ambassador Designate
to Tokyo
Camp New Delhi
16.02.95

JS (AP)

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

3007/F.S/95
17/2

S/134/APD/15
2/3

F.S. may kindly see note⁶ recorded by our Ambassador(Designate) to Tokyo regarding ashes of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose. In the first instance, the above information may be forwarded to MHA which is the nodal Ministry handling this issue. We would also forward a copy to PMO for their information.

⊗ Ring 'A'

not necessary
H.

2. It has always been our position that the family of Netaji should arrive at a consensus on what steps should be taken regarding the ashes of Netaji which are kept in the Renkoji temple near Tokyo. If it is possible that Netaji's daughter is able to achieve a consensus then the matter for the Government of India would become relatively simple. However, if there continues to be dissenting views, as they are at present, then it is best that its status-quo is retained. However, what Government wishes to do would depend largely upon whether Netaji's daughter is able to achieve a consensus or not. For the present we can continue to watch the situation carefully and see whether she is able to make progress. Our attitude would naturally depend upon the outcome of her efforts.

3. May kindly see for orders.

R.S. Kalha

(R.S. Kalha)
Joint Secretary(AP)
February 17, 1995

F.S.

* Curb-note by
MHA.

A. To/As knows, the matter (classified T.S.) was to come before Cabinet but has been postponed. As for the Ashes, it was Cumber's view that provided we keep paying the retainers, there would be no problem in retaining the ashes at the shrine in Tokyo. For the time being the Havel's brief has to be that his job is to ensure the ashes is safe & uneventful custody at the shrine. Pl keep new FS informed.

18/2/95

May kindly see

Secy (E) O.P.

28/2

26/2
S. / M. M. 25/2

JS (AP)

SECRET

-9-

~~SECRET~~

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Dy No. 10607/FS 'FR'

As desired by DS (FSO), it is confirmed that the subject matter of controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing ashes to India is handled by MHA. A communication addressed by Principal Secretary to PM to Home Secretary may please be seen at Flag A.

Y. Varma
(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (EA)
03.07.95

3-2864. JS(EA) 95
4/7

DS (FSO)

May please see. A draft reply is submitted for approval pls.

Baran
4/7

FSO
4

D. f. A.

S. / Midar
4/7

EAM *PS* 6/7/95

Letter issued.
copy placed on file.
over
6/7/95

DS (F.S.O) 1147

77795
Sh. P

JS (EA) *Signature*
Dr. Sen

Signature 26/7

-10-
4033/JS(EA)/95 4/55/12/93-38
vol II

Ministry of External Affairs
East Asia Division
.....

Subject: EAM's Visit to Japan, 6-10 September, 1995

In discussions with our Embassy, Japanese Foreign Office have indicated that Japanese side, raised the issue of Netaji's ashes. They would like a decision to be taken regarding transfer of the ashes to India. GAIMUSHO would like to discuss the matter with all concerned parties. Japanese side wishes to know our view on how the issue should be handled. They also seek guidance on the press briefing on this issue.

2. Our view, on this issue, has been consistent, i.e., a consensus amongst all parties concerned must be evolved before the ashes can be brought back. This was the position taken by PM in response to questions at the Press Conference during his visit to Kuala Lumpur last month.

3. We may reiterate this position to the Japanese side if the subject is raised. As regards GAIMUSHO being in touch with various parties, we may say that while we have no objection to their discussing the issue with various parties concerned, this should be done in close coordination with GOI. Press briefings should be focussed on the aspect of consensus and continuing consultation. Following formulation could be used:

Both Governments are aware of the sentiment that the memory of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose should be accorded due respect. On the question of the ashes of Netaji, an appropriate decision can be taken once a consensus emerges amongst the parties concerned regarding its future upkeep.

4. The above is being suggested since Japanese side would like a written formulation which would like a written formulation which could be translated in Japanese language for their press.

5. The other issues mentioned by the Japanese side have been covered in the Talking Points which FS have separately approved.

(Signature)
(T.C.A. Rangachari)
Joint Secretary (EA)
4.9.95

FB

Should we not come up with a formulation after the meeting? At the present stage, my inclination wd. be to say nothing more than that the matter was discussed and an early decision will be taken.

JS(EA) has seen.

S. J. Muthu

81 P

13897/FS/95
4/9/95

Reference : FR

Flag "x" indicating our assessment, based on various reports / documents, & F/Y.. mentioning the meeting of EAM (media reports) with Netaji's wife in Germany with regard to bringing of ashes of Netaji from Rankonji Temple in Japan may kindly be seen.

23.XI.95

Dir (OK)

This file is ^{to D/S} submitted along with 3 notes of past-guests on a separate note.

Y 23/11

~~SECRET~~

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Reference 4 notices for questions, three from Rajya Sabha (by : Shri Pasunpon Tha. Kurittinan - at Flag A, Shri N. Narayananasamy - at Flag B, Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra - at Flag C) and one from Lok Sabha (by : Shri Dharmanan M. Sadul - at Flag D) on Netaji's Ashes and visit by EAM to Germany in this connection to discuss the matter with Netaji's wife.

While we have some press reports (at Flag Y) in this regard, we do not have any authentic details and official record of discussions of reported visit by EAM to Germany and his meeting with wife of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Since the issue is quite sensitive, we may seek the directions of EAM as how and what to reply the 4 notices for the Parliament Questions as at Flags A, B, C and D.

Y. Varma
(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (JK)
23.11.95

JS (EA)

These are Advance Notices. There is no request for facts.

2. We've answered one question for 27/11. We can follow that pattern. If other similar questions are admitted or cite that as reason for non-admittance.

Urgent.

Pl. check on admittance ch. as above, for A, B, C & D, from Parl. Section.

Checked up with SO (Parl). All the four questions have so far not been admitted and also they are not likely to be by 23/11

Dir (JK)

US (JK)

Dir (JK)

YV 23/11

YV 23/11

YV 23/11

SO (JK)

24/11/95

For interim information.

JS (EA)

Dir (JK)

US (JK)

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Placed below is a transcript of an interview with Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi who was the doctor who treated Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose after the air crash at Taihoku on 18 August 1945. Dr. Yoshimi is categoric in his recollection that the patient whom he treated was Netaji and that he died that day.

2. Submitted for information.
3. FS may wish to show this to EAM.

(Signature)
(T.C.A. Rangachari)
Joint Secretary (EA)
22.12.1995

6156/JS(EA)/95
22/12

19099/FS/95
22/12

sf 8/11/95
2/1

FS

This has already come out in the press.

(Signature)
28/12

JS(EA)
Dir (JK)
US(Ju) 24/12

(Signature)
26/12

JS(EA) or
(Signature)

(Signature)
7/1

12
2/1/96

Sb-p


US(Ju) 2/11
80(Ju)
2/1

Ministry of External Affairs
(H.G.O Section)

E.A. Division's file No C/551/12/93-76

Volume-II has delinked and being sent
to EA Division.

521/NGO/96
29/1


29/1/96

So (H.G.O)


28.1.96

EA Division

-15- M.E.A.

Mr. Shishir Kumar Bose, a nephew of Netaji
Supports bringing back of Ashesh to India
His views & can be seen at
references flagged in the file.

For info. pl.

Yanna
22/8

JS(EA)
1 bank.

~~Ref~~

Wahab
Jm

Y
23/8

~~527 Jm~~
23/8/86
St-S

24. 80/83(CAD)/94

12/1/94

①

M O S T I M M E D I A T E

Diary No. 91/coord/94

NO.AA/ / /94

Ministry of External Affairs
(Coordination Division)

SUB: Writ Petition No.C.O.6720(W) of 1993 filed in the Calcutta High Court by Shri Bijan Ghosh challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

....

A Writ Petition No. C.O.6720(W) of 1993 has been filed by one Shri Bijan Ghosh in Calcutta High Court, challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose by the Union of India.

The Petitioner has filed an application before the hon. Court and has prayed to implead Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and the case is fixed for 19.1.1994. The Ministry has decided to seek adjournment on 19.1.1994 asking for a reasonable time so as to enable the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, to prepare a Counter Affidavit for which the information is required to be collected in the Ministry and from various Missions abroad. A copy of application together with a copy of amended Writ Petition is enclosed.

Heads of concerned Territorial Divisions may kindly arrange to collect the required information and provide the same to the undersigned urgently.

Vijay Kumar

(VIJAY KUMAR)
JOINT SECRETARY(COORD.)
11.1.1994

Vijay
Pi. send material.

Am
12-1-94

✓ JS(AP)

JS(EE)

JS(AMS)

JS(SOUTH)

JS(EW)

JS(NE)

D. (Ap)

Separate
Copy:

Page 'A'

DISTRICT : CALCUTTA

IN THE HIGH COURT AT CALCUTTA
CONSTITUTIONAL WRIT JURISDICTION
APPELLATE SIDE

In the Matter of :

An application for addition of
Parties ;

- And -

In the Matter of :

An application under Article 226 of
the Constitution of India ;

- And -

In the Matter of :

C.O. No. 6720 (W) of 1993 ;

- And -

In the Matter of :

BIRAN GHOSH PETITIONER.

- Versus -

UNION OF INDIA AND OTHERS ..RESPONDENTS

To
The Hon'ble Mr. A.W. Bhattacharjee, Chief Justice and
His Companion Justices of the said Hon'ble Court.

-: 2 :-

The humble petition of the petitioner
abovenamed most respectfully -

S H E E T H :

1. Your petitioner is a citizen of India and the petitioner in the above writ application pending before this Hon'ble Court.
2. The said writ petition has since been amended with the leave of this Hon'ble Court and an amended writ application verified by an affidavit affirmed on 2nd December 1993 has been filed before this Hon'ble Court on the 6th December, 1993, an advance copy thereof having been served on the respondents on or about 23rd November 1993. The said Civil Order is fixed for next hearing on the 19th January 1994.
3. In the meantime because of disclosure of certain facts referred to hereinafter in detail, it has become necessary to add the following as parties/respondents to the writ application in the ends of justice :-

(a) Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, and

(b) Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of Defence, New Delhi.

contd...2.

Flag 'A'

- 3 -

(c) The Managing Editor, North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6, Patrika Marg, Allahabad.

4. Professor Samar Guha, who has been added by this Hon'ble Court as a party to the present proceedings under the order dated the 29th September, 1993, has filed an affidavit before this Hon'ble Court during the hearing of the case on 6th December 1993. In the said affidavit, the said added respondent has referred to certain correspondence between him and Shri Dinesh Singh, the Hon'ble Minister for External Affairs, Government of India, as well as between Dr. Triguna Sen and the said Hon'ble Minister. Professor Samar Guha has also referred in his affidavit to a letter received by ^{him} ~~him~~ on 20th March 1991 from Shri Digbijay Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Government of India. Reference has also been made to certain specific documents relating to the disappearance and whereabouts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who are either in the possession of or capable of being procured and produced by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Copies of Professor Samar Guha's letter to Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr. Boris Yeltsin, the present President of the Federation of Russia, seeking information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, have also been annexed to the said affidavit of Professor Samar Guha.

5
Flag 'A'

- 4 -

5. While the above-mentioned letter of Shri Dinesh Singh contains an affirmation by the Ministry of External Affairs that the follow-up action regarding high-level investigation into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has already been initiated, the letter dated the 6th March 1993 of the present Minister for External Affairs addressed to Professor Samar Guha contains the following reply :-

" I entirely agree with you that the riddle about disappearance of Netaji should be solved. I can assure you we shall do everything possible in this regard. You have made suggestions which are very important and I am having the matter examined as to how best we should proceed further ".

6. Professor Samar Guha has also set out in his affidavit the following portion from a letter written to Dr. Tridina Sen by Shri Dinesh Singh, the present Minister for External Affairs, Government of India :-

" We shall carry out any directive from the President of India regarding inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In the meantime, we shall see if we can gather some information from the Kremlin's file as suggested by you".

contd...3.

(6)

File 'A'

- 5 -

7. Earlier to this, Professor Samar Guha appears to have taken up the matter ^{with} ~~with~~ Shri V.P. Singh, when he was the Prime Minister,. On the 7th June, 1990 Shri V.P. Singh is stated to have addressed the following letter to Professor Samar Guha :-

" Dear Professor Guha : I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available in the U.S.S.R., U.K., Japan and the U.S.A.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.

Regards. Yours Sincerely
Sd/- V.P. Singh "

8. Professor Samar Guha has stated in his affidavit to have written on the subject thereafter to Shri I.K. Gujral, the then Minister of External Affairs and also discussed the matter with him. Shri Gujral is stated to have assured all efforts to contact U.S.S.R. and other concerned foreign countries.

9. Reference has been made in the said affidavit to a letter written in February 1978 by Shri N.G. Goray,

Page 'A'

- 6 -

the then Indian High Commissioner in London to Lord Mountbatten requesting him to shed some authentic light on the Netaji episode in the context of the report about his having taken asylum in 1945 in the USSR and Lord Mountbatten's reply thereto to the effect that there was no official record of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives. The said letters have also been set out in the book - "NETAJI DEAD OR ALIVE ?" by Professor Samar Guha, which forms part of the annexure to his affidavit. The said book also contains the text of a Parliament question on the above correspondence between Shri N.C. Grog and Lord Mountbatten and the reply given thereto by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Minister for External Affairs, Government of India.

10. The recent publication by the Publication Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India of a book written by Dr. S.C. Maliksp "Challenging to the Empire : A Study of Netaji" which was produced before this Hon'ble Court during the hearing on the 6th December 1983 to draw the attention of this Hon'ble Court to certain passage in the book bearing a clear reference to the fact of Netaji having flown to Bangkok and thence to Dairen enroute Taihaku to have his asylum in USSR and containing a clear assertion that history is yet to say anything positive about his death of having remaining alive.

contd...7.

(8)

Page 'A'

- 7 -

11. The xerox copy of the letter of Sm. Kharshed
Nayoji written to Mr. Louis Fischer on behalf of Gandhi-
je on 2nd July, 1946 annexed to the affidavit of Profe-
ssor Samar Guha also goes to show that Netaji was in
Soviet Russia at that time and the congress party in
India was apprehensive of his coming to India with
Russian help in which case the control of the political
situation in the country would go out of the hands of
Gandhiji and other Congress Leader. It is in the context
of the above apprehension that a gesture was thrown in
the said letter for England to play fair to the People of
India or to be declared by Indians for ever an ^{enemy} ~~enemy~~
of India or Asiatics. Almost immediately after writing
of this letter the Interim Government was installed at
New Delhi leading ultimately to Transfer of Power to a
partitioned India within a year thereafter. This letter
is reported to be available in the archives of Princeton
University in U.S.A. and has been located thereby an
India research scholar, Dr. Bhairab Bhattacharjee.

A true copy of the said letter is annexed hereto
and marked with the letter "A".

"A"

12. The above facts find corroboration and the air
crash story does not find the slightest support from the
historical works on Indian Independence Movement written
by two eminent Historians, namely Dr. Ramesh Chandra

contd....3.

9
Flag 'A'

-: 8 :-

Majumdar and Professor Amallesh Tripathi. While Dr. Majumdar draws a complete blank after the departure of the plane from Saigon, Professor Tripathi describes the rest as complete silence, as stated in paragraph 15 of the supplementary affidavit of Dr. Susanta Kumar Mitra (respondent No. 5) filed before this Hon'ble Court on 6th December, 1993.

13. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, should be able to enlighten on the above aspect of the case with reference to the records in their possession and/or the records which are capable of being procured by them from ^{external} ~~external~~ sources, as indicated in the above-mentioned letters referred to by Professor Samar Guha in his affidavit.

14. Dr. Susanta Kumar Mitra (respondent No. 5) has annexed to his affidavit xerox copies of a series of articles (17 in number), which appeared in the North Indian Patrika, Published from Allahabad on different dates between 20/12/1985 and 31/1/1986 under the caption " The Man of Mystery", based on an investigative inquiry conducted by two of their Journalists into the background of a nameless " Saint" having entered India from Tibet via Nepal in the year 1951 and having stayed at different places in U.P. upto the year 1985, who upon investigation was found to be no other person than Mataji Subhas Chandra Noss. The said articles also contain reference to a host of documents and other materials bearing identity with

contd....9.

(10)
Flag 'A'
C9
-: 9 :-

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose including a wrist watch left behind by the said "Saint" which were inventorised by the local police in the presence of local witnesses. The said reports also point out the mysterious fact of the disappearance of the said "saint" between the 16th and 18th September 1985, during which period he was alleged to have died, but the dead body was not shown to any person and the cremation of a completely covered dead body took place in an unusual manner under close guard by certain persons at a place on the bank of river Saraju in Faizabad (U.P.), which was not a cremation place. The placing of a completely covered dead body on the funeral pyre bears significant resemblance to the placing of the closed coffinⁿ itself, containing the dead body of a Japanese ^{soldier} ~~Soldier~~, Ichiro Okura, into the ^{furnace} ~~furnace~~ at Tapal on 20th August, 1945.

15. While the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and the Ministry of Defence, Government of India should be able to throw light on the identity of the said "Saint" reportedly entering India from Tibet via Nepal in the year 1951 and staying in India upto the year 1985, the North Indian Patrika, which conducted the above investigation by their Journalists and published the facts in the above articles, should be able to produce the source material on the basis whereof the said "Saint" was taken to be Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

contd.10.

Flag 'A'

-: 10 :-

16. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, should also be able to throw light on the point raised in my letter dated 30 November, 1993 addressed to the Secretary of the said Ministry, written with reference to the averment made in the affidavit of Shri N.N. Vohra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, purporting to claim privilege in respect of certain documents. A copy of the said letter dated 30 November, 1993, which will speak for itself, is annexed hereto and marked with the letter "B".

"B"

MHA

17. Your petitioner states that no reply has been received by him to the above-mentioned letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, although it is the said authority, who can give the clarification asked for in the said letter regarding the unnamed foreign nationals, who have been purported to be referred to as the wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the said affidavit of, Shri N.N. Vohra, with whom the Ministry of Home Affairs has carried on correspondence through our Embassy in Vienna on the question of Award of Bharat Ratna posthumously on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

18. In the premises, the presence of the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi and the Managing Editor of North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6A, Patrika Marg, Allahabad, before this Hon'ble Court is necessary in order to enable this Hon'ble Court effectually and completely to adjudicate upon and settle all the questions involved

-: 11 :-

In the present writ proceedings. As will appear from the facts stated above, the said two persons are necessary and/or proper parties to the present proceedings and they should be impleaded as parties/respondents in the ends of justice.

19. This application is made bonafide and in the interest of justice.

In the circumstances your petitioner most respectfully prays Your Lordships to be graciously pleased to order that-

a) The Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, the secretary of the Government of India Ministry of Defence, New Delhi and the Managing Editor, North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6, Patrika Marg, Allahabad be added as respondents to the writ application ;

b) The said added respondents be directed to file their respective affidavits-in-opposition to the amended writ application and the affidavits filed by the respondents Nos. 3 to 5

13

Flag 'A'

-: 12 :-

and to produce all relevant records
before this Hon'ble Court.

c) Such other and/or further order
or orders direction or directions
as may be deemed fit and proper.

And for this act of kindness your petitioner as in duty
bound shall ever pray.

Affidavit

Flag 'A'

-: 13 :-

APPIDAVIT

I, Biban Ghosh, son of shri Banoy Krishna Ghosh, aged about 37 years, by occupation Advocate, practising at High Court, Calcutta, residing at B-172, B.E. College, Howrah-3, do hereby solemnly affirm and say as follows :-

1. That I am the writ petitioner and I am well acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case.

2. That the statements made in paragraphs 1 to 3, 16 to 19 (both inclusive) are true to my knowledge, and those made in paragraphs 4 to 15, excepting last paragraph are derived from records and newspapers and rest are my humble submissions before this Hon'ble Court.

Prepared by me

Self Bijan Ghosh

Sd/- Bijan Ghosh.
The deponent

Solemnly affirmed before me

this 13th day of December, 1933.

Commissioner.

15

Flag 'A'

20

ADVOCATE
AT CALCUTTA
ATTORNEY ROOM NO 11
BAR 28 3100 28 1579

Dated the 30th November, 1993

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi. 110 001

Re : Wife and daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Dear Sir,

This is to bring to your kind notice that in an affidavit claiming privilege affirmed by Shri N.N.Vohra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs in connection with C.O.No.6720 (W) of 1993 pending before the Hon'ble High Court at Calcutta, reference has been made to some correspondence between the said Ministry and the wife and daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose through the Embassy in Vienna regarding conferment of "Bharat Ratna" on Netaji.

2. I am the petitioner in the writ application which is the subject matter of the above pending writ proceedings and a copy of the said affidavit of Shri N.N.Vohra has been served upon me in that connection. Privilege has been claimed in the said affidavit in respect of certain documents including the said correspondence between the Home Ministry and the wife and daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

3. Since the said correspondence has been stated to have been routed through the Embassy in Vienna, ~~your~~ your Ministry should be in a ^{si} position to enlighten me as to whether there is any documentary evidence in testimony of marriage of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and/or of his having any daughter through such marriage. In the absence of any such documentary evidence the circumstances under which such correspondence with particular residents

Contd...2

SUNDAY MORNING : NEAR AKSHAYA BIDYAPITH, NEDERPARA, KRISHNANAGAR DIAL 2129

(16)

File 'A'

ADVOCATE
CALCUTTA

ON ROOM NO 11
BAR 28 3198 28 5579

- 2 -

and/or citizens of a foreign country could be entered into by the Government of India through its Embassy in Vienna by treating them as wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose needs clarification.

4. The above information and/or clarification is necessary in order to appreciate the facts pleaded in support of the claim of privilege put forth by the Ministry of Home Affairs in respect of the said correspondence with certain persons in a foreign country over the question of conferring the title of "Bharat Ratna" on Netaji.

5. I, therefore, request you to favour me with such particulars as may be in your possession as to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose having wife and daughter outside this country and the basis on which their identity in such capacity has been recognised by your Ministry enabling the Government of India to enter into correspondence through the Embassy in Vienna with such persons on the above subject by treating them as wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

6. A very reply is solicited.

7. This is without prejudice to all my rights and contentions in the matter, including those relating to the pending writ proceedings above refused to.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Singh
Advocate

SUNDAY MORNING : NEAR AKSHAYA BIDYAPIT

बीमा नहीं NOT INSURED		क्रमांक 3420
लगाये गये डाक टिकट का मूल्य 80	80	
Amount of Stamp affixed	Rs. 80	
एक रजिस्ट्री	रजिस्ट्री	
Received a Registered		
पानेवाले का नाम	पानेवाले का नाम	
Addressed to	Addressed to	
पानेवाले का पता		पानेवाले का पता
M. P. R. X		
M. P. R. X		

M. P. R. X

(17)

Flag 'A'

Copy of a letters from Khurshed Naoroji to Louis Fischer

22/7/46

Dear Fischer -

I enclose a copy of Gandhiji's letter, as desired by you. But please don't think that he is not with us. I have been with him since my release from prison and he put the constructive Programme before the country which was overlooked by the working Committee when they decided on constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues of the Working Committee he has gone with them because they were not prepared to go with him but Gandhiji is essentially a man of action and when the time comes, he will take the country with him.

The Socialists are merely implimenting the constructive programme in the light of present circumstances, We must go to the people and forge mass sanctions. The people want to know the shape of things to come. Grouping of the provinces or the question of sovereignty does not touch them, they want a plan. Let our leaders go to the Govt. sponsored Constituent Assembly and we remain with the people to share their joys and sorrows. When the time comes we shall be one.

The Socialists do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practiced non-violence, we say nonkilling. We have to put non-violence in to practice and not just go talking of truth of non-violence. People want deals and not words. For twenty years we have talked on the ideal Govt. and the practical stage for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin. All Congress and the nationalist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt. has built them up to fight the Congress and will have to deal with them now. They are going underground and if before the time the Allies (excluding Russia), have a scrap with Soviet Russia, India is not satisfied

18

Flag A

-2-

with the results of the Constituent Assembly. She will go over entirely and absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first world war. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers and the rank and file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them and they are pro-Russian. There have been many cases a court martial in the Indian army on individuals and platoons during the last war both in India and abroad. There have been mass desertions in the regular army and minor reaps in the N.W.F. Province at the beginning of the last war.

At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country then there is no hope of any European alliance acceptable to India. Freedom for India under the aegis of Soviet Russia is no freedom for us: but it now rests with England to play fair by the people of India or be declared by us for ever as the enemy of India and of the Asiatics. There are other groups in north India pro-Russian, but after Russia joined the Allies they lost caste. However the bitterness towards the English is so great that Russia will again come into favour on the event of any disagreement amongst the Allies.

Gandhiji is not touched with the international reactions but we can't afford to neglect the signs of the time specially when it concerns our freedom.

Yours,
Khurshed

Page 'A'

DISTRICT : CALCUTTA

IN THE HIGH COURT AT CALCUTTA
Constitutional Writ Jurisdiction
Appellate Side

In the matter of :

An application for addition of parties;

- And -

In the matter of :

BIJAN GHOSH PETITIONER.

- Versus -

UNION OF INDIA AND OTHERS.

... RESPONDENTS.

P E T I T I O N

BIJAN GHOSH
Advocate
Bar Association Room No. 11,
High Court, Calcutta.

S Jaishankar
Director(EE)

~~Secret~~

No.WI/411/5/93-EE

January 13, 1994

Dear Shri Haer,

Please refer to the fax No.MOS/ISI/FAX-01/94 from Counsellor(Inf) enclosing an article on Netaji published in 'Asia and Africa Today'. The translation of the article was submitted to FS who directed that our Mission in Moscow point out to the Russians that the kind of accusation made in the article against a respected national leader of India being published is objected to by India. I am directed to convey that this be taken up with the Russian authorities in appropriate terms.

We would appreciate confirmation of the action taken by the Mission.

Yours sincerely,

(S Jaishankar)

Shri P S Haer
Charge d'Affaires a.i.
Embassy of India
Moscow.

Copy to Director(AP) - Smt. P R Sharma, MEA,
Room No. 268-B, South Block, New Delhi.

(S Jaishankar)

3 21
हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स

The Hindustan Times

दि 16/1/84

Bharat Ratna to Netaji withdrawn

By Bal Krishna

NEW DELHI, Jan. 15

The Government has revoked its decision to confer Bharat Ratna on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The nation's highest honour had been conferred posthumously on Netaji by the V. P. Singh Government, but it was immediately rejected by most branches of the Bose family.

The withdrawal of the Bharat Ratna, however, has been done in a quiet manner. The Government's decision was announced by the Additional Solicitor-General, Mr Altaf Ahmed, at the Calcutta High Court on December 6 last year. This was done in the course of a hearing on a petition challenging the conferment of the title on the legendary freedom fighter.

When the Addl Solicitor-General made this announcement, the Calcutta High Court ordered the Union Government to produce all relevant documents in court at the next hearing, scheduled for January 19. The Government was asked to present all papers showing why it had chosen to reverse its earlier decision.

Presumably to move the case away from Calcutta where anything involving Netaji's honour is a sensitive and emotional issue, the Union Government moved a petition in the Supreme Court challenging the High Court's directive for presenting all documents there.

In the Supreme Court yesterday, the Government filed an affidavit reaffirming that it had revoked its earlier decision on the subject. Subsequently, the apex court stayed the Calcutta High Court's order and fixed Monday, January 17 as the date for hearing of the case.

A three-member bench of the Supreme Court, comprising Chief Justice M. N. Venkatachaliah, Justice S. Mohan and Justice A. S. Anand heard the Union Government's petition yesterday.

The conferment of the posthumous Bharat Ratna on Netaji had been described as an "insult" by his nephew and West Bengal Congress leader, Dr Sisir Bose, at that time. Forward Bloc, the party founded by Netaji, which is a major constituent of West Bengal's ruling Left Front, had also criticised the V. P. Singh Government's decision.

They had argued that a person

Continued on back page col. 3

Award to Netaji withdrawn

Continued from page 1 col. 1

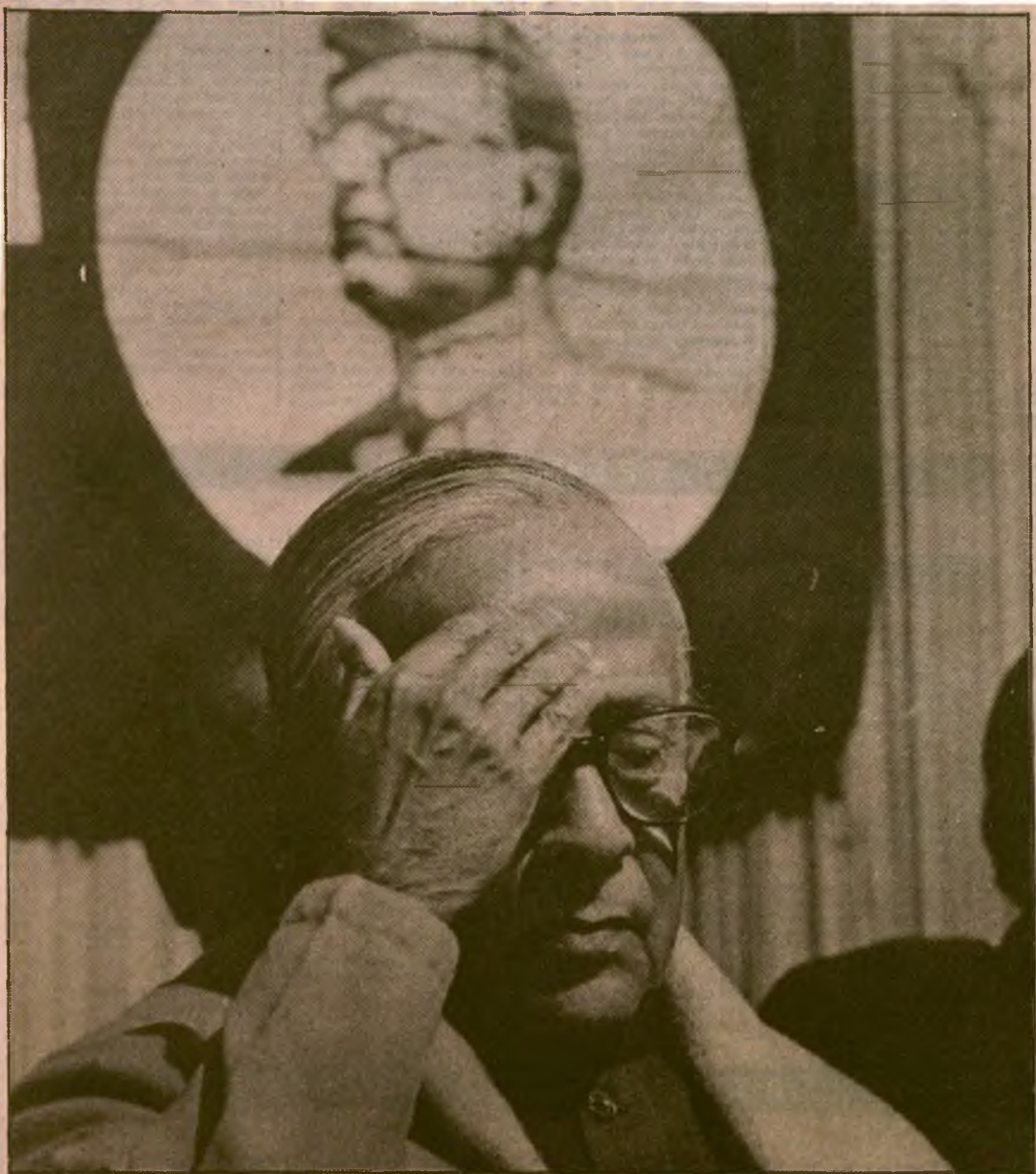
of Netaji's stature should not have been belittled with worldly awards. It was as incongruous as conferring the Bharat Ratna on Mahatma Gandhi, that too, more than 40 years after his death, it was claimed.

With no member of Netaji's immediate family prepared to receive the scroll of honour, the Government was in a dilemma. It was thought that it would follow the precedent in the Vinoba Bhave case and donate the scroll to the National Museum.

In the instance of the Gandhian sage and bhoodan champion, there was no surviving member of the family to receive the honour, although the award, also conferred posthumously, had not become controversial, unlike the case of Subhas Bose. The Government eventually decided to donate the scroll meant for Vinoba Bhave to the National Museum.

Netaji

Sup



Chief minister, Jyoti Basu seems to be repenting his party's late decision to honour Netaji on the Maidan on Sunday. A Telegraph picture by Amit Datta

Basu admits mistake

BY A STAFF REPORTER

Calcutta, Jan. 23: The West Bengal chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, today admitted that the communists had made a mistake in evaluating Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Paying tribute to the "great patriot" by garlanding Netaji's statue on his 98th birth anniversary, a pensive Mr Basu said, "The communists had wrongly evaluated Netaji's contribution to the freedom struggle and had misgivings about his alliance with the Japanese to force the British to quit the Indian soil."

Communists had once called Netaji a "quisling" during World War II for joining hands with the Japanese against the British.

Perhaps keeping this in mind, the chief minister confessed, "But, now we have realised that the alliance with the Japanese imperialist forces was only to drive out the British imperialists that he would never have

allowed the former to have designs on India."

The chief minister, however, maintained that despite the Marxists' wrong evaluation, "Netaji had never spoken against them. I have come to know more about Netaji's activities from Mrs Lakshmi Sehgal of the Indian National Army," he said, adding, that his "ideal leadership should act as a beacon to the present generation."

Taking a cue from Mr Basu and keeping with the Marxists' resolve to bring nationalism to the fore, all Left parties, including CPI, today celebrated Netaji's birth anniversary in two separate programmes during the day.

Besides, the traditional programme near Netaji's statue on the Maidan, Marxist leaders in a sudden turnaround shared platform with those of the RSP and Forward Bloc at a separate meeting to pay homage to the "great leader."

The CPI(M), however, scored

over other Left parties in the race for re-evaluating Netaji. Enthusiastic members of its two frontal organisations, Students' Federation of India (SFI) and Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI) organised a padayatra from Netaji's ancestral home at Kodalía in South 24-Parganas to the city.

The CPI(M) central committee member, Mr Biman Bose, was present to receive them at Rani Rashmani Road near the Maidan this morning.

The state land and land reforms minister, Mr Benoy Chowdhury, also a CPI(M) Politburo member, spoke on Netaji's freedom struggle at a separate function.

Nation pays tribute: Several meetings and exhibitions were held on the occasion in most parts of the country. In New Delhi, the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr Shivraj Patil, and several others offered floral tributes at the portrait of Netaji in the Central Hall of Parliament.

Netaji's file

SEP

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10/3

विदेश मंत्री
भारत

604/DW/AR/52
12/3

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

06 March 1993

He has not mentioned
PS's letter to him. Pl discuss
10/3

Div (C)

Dear Samar Guha ji

Thank you for your letter of 24 February 1993. I am sorry I have taken a little time to reply. I entirely agree with you that the riddle about the disappearance of Netaji should be solved. I can assure you we shall do everything possible in this regard. You have made some suggestions which are very important and I am having the matter examined as to how best we should proceed further.

Best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Prithi Singh

Prof. Samar Guha
Former Member of Parliament
8/2, Central Park
Calcutta-700 032

✓ Copy to JS (AP) alongwith letter under reference with a request that the matter may please be examined and submitted to EAM.



No. 489/B/91

24

विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear Prof. Samar Guha

Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha
Ex-Member of Parliament
B/2, Central Park
CALCUTTA - 700032

④ 25

1. Circulation: less than 30,000
2. Still published as a monthly by Institute of Asia and Africa, part of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
3. Russian response:
 - i) Matter was raised with Asia & Africa Today before and after publication, but Magazine gave no commitments or comments to our Embassy;
 - ii) Matter was raised with Russian Foreign Office before and after publication. Before publication Foreign Office said they will try and do their best to stop publication but noted Russia has a free Press and they would not be able to do very much. After publication, expressed inability to influence decision and did not respond to requests for not reprinting, translating or circulating;
4. EAM's letter of 6th March 1993 and former Deputy Minister of External Affairs' letter of 26th March 1991 are below. The 1991 letter has been interpreted by Shri Guha as GOI's commitment for a fresh investigation.

3996/23 (AD)/92
20/10/93

V-1241/eam/93
20/10

Prof. Samar Guha
Former
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



(26)

8/2, CENTRAL PARK,
CALCUTTA-700 032

PHONE : 72-1600

11 Octo 1993

Dear Dinesh Singhji,

I hope you have returned from USA and keeping quite fit for your daily work after US tour.

I hope while in USA you asked Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, to take up the issue of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji. If Shri Ray tries it will be possible for him to collect the report of Mac Arthur on the alleged aircrash involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and also the report of their inquiry made by the Govt. of Taiwan. If Shri Ray patiently pursues the matter, it will be possible to collect all these information about Netaji from the archives of the Govt. of the USA. USA may also possess information about Netaji's presence in Russia. I hope you have told all these things to Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray.

Recently the Statesman published an article of mine about the alleged ashes of Netaji lying in the Renkoji Temple. I shall be thankful if you kindly go through it and send your comment, about it. This article should be kept in your official file for reference.

With best wishes and namaskar,

Shri Dinesh Singh
Minister of External Affairs
Govt. of India
NEW DELHI 110011

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

Encl.

Grateful for comments
and draft reply for
Eam's consideration

M
19/x

JS (AD)

20.10.93

20/10/93
Dy. Secy (AD)

Keep in "Bose file"

S2 (AD)

S2

4/29/3/95

17/4/95

ASHES IN RENKOJI

No Proof Of Netaji's Death

By SAMAR GUHA

WHOSE ashes are lying in the Renkoji Temple in the vicinity of Tokyo? PTI recently circulated a news report that war veterans of Japan have asked for "final enshrinement" of the ashes in India. Can anyone in Japan vouch that the ashes in the Renkoji Temple are those of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose? There is no proof. On the contrary, there are testimonials to suggest that the ashes in the Renkoji Temple are really those of Captain Ichiro Okura.

In confirming the report of Netaji's alleged death circulated by the Domai News Agency of Tokyo, the Foreign Office of the Government of Japan produced a "death certificate" alleged to be that of "His Excellency Chandra Bose" before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956. The same certificate was produced before the Khosla Commission. The certificate was issued by the Municipal Office of Taihoku of former Formosa, now named Taipei. The certificate was written in Japanese script. When rendered into English, it was found to be the "death certificate" of a non-regular captain named Ichiro Okura. The Foreign Office of Japan still argued that it was the death certificate of "His Excellency, Chandra Bose".

MISSING BODY

Another significant fact was also bypassed by the inquiring bodies. Tokyo Radio announced on August 23, 1945, that Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku. But General Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan who maintained the political liaison between the Government of Japan and the Government of Azad Hind, received a "top secret" message from Japanese headquarters on August 19, 1945, that Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash at Taihoku on August 18. Isoda was told that this news should be immediately communicated to the Indians in Bangkok. S. A. Ayer, the Information Minister of the Azad Hind Government who was at Bangkok, flatly refused to believe the news and asked General Isoda to bring the alleged body of Netaji to Singapore for cremation there. Isoda offered to take Ayer to Taihoku from Bangkok to show him the body. The next day when the plane reached Formosa, it was found to land not at Taihoku but in a different airport in Formosa called Taichoo. When Ayer got furious, he was assured that he would be taken to Taihoku the following morning. But after flying from Taichoo airport next day the plane landed in Tokyo, not Taihoku. If Netaji really died in the air crash on August 18 and his body was there in the Nonmon Hospital at Taihoku, why did the Japanese play hide and seek with S. A. Ayer, one of Netaji's most trusted men?

Take another instance of the Japanese hide and seek game. Japan produced four or five photographs of the bandaged Colonel Habibur Rahman, photographs of an urn reported as containing the ashes of Netaji and a "canvas bundle" holding the alleged body of Netaji. The Japanese witnesses of Nonmon Hospital said that although "Chandra Bose's" body had

turned greyish, his face and body were not disfigured in any way. If that was the case, why did the Japanese fail to take a photograph of the uncovered body of "His Excellency Subhas Chandra Bose"? One such photograph could have convinced everyone, even the Anglo-American authorities, that Netaji

PTI circulated a report that Japanese war veterans have asked for the "final enshrinement" of the ashes lying in the Renkoji Temple near Tokyo, claiming these were Netaji's. Samar Guha, former Member of Parliament, says the documents produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission show that the ashes were those of captain Ichiro Okura.

had really died in the air crash at Taihoku.

The Japanese witnesses stated before the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission that "His Excellency Chandra Bose" and General Shedei were involved in the air crash at Taihoku at noon on August 18, 1945. General Shedei had died instantaneously and Netaji died some time later at Nonmon Hospital.

General Shedei had been asked to assume command of the Japanese Manchurian Army to face the unannounced Russian aggression of Manchuria after the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, to the Anglo-American authority. His military status was much higher than those of the two Formosan chiefs, General Isamaya and General Ando. If Netaji and General Shedei had flown to Taihoku on August 18, 1945, it was the responsibility of both the Generals of the Japanese Formosan Army to receive them at the airport. If General Shedei and Netaji were in the plane that reportedly crashed at Taihoku, how could General Isamaya and General Ando avoid going to Taihoku airport?

MORE QUESTIONS

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ASHES IN RENKOJI

No Proof Of Netaji's Death

By SAMAR GUPTA

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In confirming the report of Netaji's alleged death circulated by the Domei News Agency of Tokyo, the Foreign Office of the Government of Japan produced a "death certificate" alleged to be that of "His Excellency Chandra Bose" before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956. The same certificate was produced before the Khosla Commission. The certificate was issued by the Municipal Office of Taihoku of former Formosa, now named Taipei. The certificate was written in Japanese script. When rendered into English, it was found to be the "death certificate" of a non-regular captain named Ichiro Okura. The Foreign Office of Japan still argued that it was the death certificate of "His Excellency, Chandra Bose".

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Another significant fact was also bypassed by the inquiring bodies. Tokyo Radio announced on August 23, 1945, that Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku. But General Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan who maintained the political liaison between the Government of Japan and the Government of Azad Hind, received a "top secret" message from Japanese headquarters on August 19, 1945, that Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash at Taihoku on August 18. Isoda was told that this news should be immediately communicated to the Indians in Bangkok. S. A. Ayer, the Information Minister of the Azad Hind Government who was at Bangkok, flatly refused to believe the news and asked General Isoda to bring the alleged body of Netaji to Singapore for cremation there. Isoda offered to take Ayer to Taihoku from Bangkok to show him the body. The next day when the plane reached Formosa, it was found to land not at Taihoku but in a different airport in Formosa called Taichoo. When Ayer got furious, he was assured that he would be taken to Taihoku the following morning. But after flying from Taichoo airport next day the plane landed in Tokyo, not Taihoku. If Netaji really died in the air crash on August 18 and his body was there in the Nonmon Hospital at Taihoku, why did the Japanese play hide and seek with S. A. Ayer, one of Netaji's most trusted men?

Take another instance of the Japanese hide and seek game. Japan produced four or five photographs of the bandaged Colonel Habibur Rahman, photographs of an urn reported as containing the ashes of Netaji and a "canvas bundle" holding the alleged body of Netaji. The Japanese witnesses of Nonmon Hospital said that although "Chandra Bose's" body had

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95

3996/JS(AP)/92
20/10/93

V-1241/eam/93
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Prof. ~~Samar~~ Guha
Former
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



8/2, CENTRAL PARK,
CALCUTTA-700 032
PHONE : 72-1600
11 Octo 1993

(29)

Dear Dinesh Singhji,

I hope you have returned from USA and keeping quite fit for your daily work after US tour.

I hope while in USA you asked Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, to take up the issue of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji. If Shri Ray tries it will be possible for him to collect the report of Mac Arthur on the alleged aircrash involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and also the report of the inquiry made by the Govt. of Taiwan. If Shri Ray patiently pursues the matter, it will be possible to collect all these information about Netaji from the archives of the Govt. of the USA. USA may also possess information about Netaji's presence in Russia. I hope you have told all these things to Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray.

Recently the Statesman published an article of mine about the alleged ashes of Netaji lying in the Renkoji Temple. I shall be thankful if you kindly go through it and send your comment about it. This article should be kept in your official file for reference.

With best wishes and namaskar,

Shri Dinesh Singh
Minister of External Affairs
Govt. of India
NEWDELHI 110011

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

Encl.

Grateful for comments
and draft reply for
EAM's consideration

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19/10

JS(AP)

20/10

D.S. (AP)

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Embassy of India
Moscow

(31)

Meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
"Asia and Africa Today", at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 93

As desired by the Ambassador, I called on Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 1993. After exchanging pleasantries and exploring the possibility of further cooperation between the Mission and the journal "Asia and Africa Today", I enquired from Touradjev whether "Asia and Africa Today" would soon start publishing a series of articles, based on KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was an MI-6 agent and that a close aide of his had worked for the KGB.

Touradjev confirmed that the August (8/93) issue of "Asia and Africa Today" would carry an article titled "The Secret Behind the Death of S.C. Bose" by Prof. Raikov, a well known Indologist based in Liptsk. The article would explore the various theories advanced from time to time, regarding the circumstances of Netaji's death. Its inclusion was essentially meant to generate reader interest in two further articles which would be published in the September (9/93) and October (10/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today". Touradjev clarified that he was the author of these two articles and that they were based on KGB archives which he had been privileged to personally examine and which had been shared with him by contacts he had in the Russian intelligence service. In an attempt to convince me that his articles were based on genuine KGB documents, Touradjev showed me from afar a copy of a letter dated 11/12/1943, marked "MOST SECRET", and addressed by a Col. G.A. Hill of British Intelligence to a Col. Osipov of Soviet Intelligence.

In response to a query, Touradjev clarified that to the best of his knowledge the Russian Intelligence Service did not possess a separate file on Netaji. In his view, this would seem to show that Netaji had never visited the Soviet Union since, at least in earlier years, a file was usually opened on every foreigner arriving in the country. The documents he had based his articles upon were primarily reports filed by the then Russian intelligence

agents in Kabul, letters addressed by British Intelligence to their Soviet counterparts, plus other stray correspondence which he had come across in the KGB archives.


I specifically queried Touradjev as to whether his two articles contained references alleging that Netaji had been a British agent. If so, this would be quite unfortunate, given that Netaji was a widely respected national leader whose memory was deeply cherished by the people of India.

In response to this and other queries, Touradjev made the following points:

- (a) His articles did not bring out that Netaji was a MI-6 agent, in the sense of his being a "paid functionary". Equally, they did, however, show that Netaji "cooperated" with the British. In this context, Touradjev pointed out that without British acquiescence Netaji could not have escaped so easily from India or lived for so long in Kabul. Moreover, the instructions which Netaji sent from Berlin for carrying out subversive acts against the British in India, were never translated into action since the British knew of them and could take corrective measures. Touradjev repeatedly emphasized that the KGB documentation which he had access to left him in no doubt that "Netaji had cooperated with the British". He added that only MI-6 could inform whether the relationship went beyond "cooperation" as additional details would only be available with them. He hoped that, once his articles were published, the British would join in sharing information on Netaji.
- (b) The KGB documentation, however, conclusively established that Bhagat Ram - Netaji's aide in Kabul - had served as an agent of several foreign intelligence services e.g. the British, Russian, German, Italian and others. This would be brought out clearly in his articles.
- (c) His articles would be "scientifically presented" in the sense that they would fully annotated and would provide details of every important document referred to or quoted. They would thus analyze specific documentation and would not be largely speculative.

(d) In his view, the KGB archives material which he has quoted in his articles made Netaji "go up in his esteem, since it showed that he (Netaji) had contributed to the defeat of Fascism". He felt that his articles would in fact show Netaji as being an "even greater nationalist" since Netaji had striven for an independent India, rather than an India subservient to Germany or Japan. Touradjev clarified that the intention behind his articles was not to denigrate Netaji as a leader who had the best interests of India in mind, but to contribute to a better understanding of Netaji's historic role.

In response to my query, Touradjev pointed out that the August (8/93) and September (9/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today" (containing Prof. Raikov's articles and the first of his two articles) had already been sent to the printers. I did not specifically urge him to have the articles withdrawn, since it was evident that he would not do so in any case.


(Ajai Malhotra)
Counsellor (Inf.)
30.6. 1993

Ambassador

3996/JS (AP)/93
20/10/93

Prof. Samar Guha
Former
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



V-1241/eam/93

20/10

8/2, CENTRAL PARK,
CALCUTTA-700 032
PHONE : 72-1600
11 Octo 1993

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With best wishes and namaskar,

Shri Dinesh Singh
Minister of External Affairs
Govt. of India
NEW DELHI 110011

Yours sincerely,

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(SAMAR GUHA)

Encl.

*Grateful for comments
and draft reply for
Samar's consideration*

M
19/10

JS (AP)

RAJYA SAHA

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 6630

TO BE ANSWERED ON 11TH MAY 1994

ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

6630. SHRI VIREN J. SHAH:
SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

त्रिदश जंजी

be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the casket containing the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is kept at Renkoji Buddhist temple in Tokyo;
- (b) what steps Government have so far taken to bring back to India the ashes of Netaji from Tokyo; and
- (c) what is Government's attitude in this regard?

ANSWER

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(SHRI R.L. BHATIA)

त्रिदश राज्य जंजी

(a), (b) & (c) Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was reported to have died in Taipei (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. His body was cremated two days later and the ashes carried to Japan. The ashes have since been maintained at the Renkoji Buddhist Temple in Nakano, Tokyo.

Two Commissions of Enquiry were appointed by the Government of India on the question of Netaji's death in the air crash on August 18, 1945. The first Enquiry Committee set up in 1956 was headed by late Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and included Netaji's elder brother Shri S.C. Bose. The majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in the aircrash and that the ashes at the Renkoji Temple were that of Netaji. However, Netaji's brother Shri S.C. Bose gave a dissenting view. In 1970, the one-man Justice G.D. Khosla Committee also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji Temple contained the ashes of Netaji. There have been attempts to have a new enquiry instituted. There have also been moves to have the ashes brought back to India, with all reverence and honour as befitting a man of the stature of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. However, many people, including Netaji's nephews, still doubt the event of Netaji's reported death and question the veracity of the ashes. In Japan itself, where the ashes are lodged, there have been repeated requests from the Renkoji Temple and Japanese associates of Netaji for the ashes to return to India. The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remain divided. Government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes back to India in absence of a consensus on the issue might prove divisive and create tensions.

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20/111 मई, 1994----- 21 वैशाख, 1916 शक
को राज्य सभा की बैठक में उत्तर दिए जाने के लिए

(36)

नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की भस्मप्रश्न सं. 6630:श्री वीरेन जे. शाह:श्री प्रमोद महाजन:

क्या विदेश मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

॥क॥ क्या नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की भस्म की पेट्टी टोकियो स्थित रेनकोजी बौद्ध मन्दिर में रखी हुई है;

॥ख॥ सरकार ने नेताजी की भस्म को टोकियो से भारत लाने के लिये अब तक क्या-क्या कदम उठाए हैं; और

॥ग॥ सरकार का इस संबंध में क्या रवैया है?

उत्तर:श्री रघुनंदन लाल भाटियाविदेश राज्य मंत्री

॥क॥, ॥ख॥ और ॥ग॥ बताया जाता है कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु 18 अगस्त 1945 को तैपेई ॥ताईवान॥ में हुई। उनके शव का दाह संस्कार दो दिन बाद किया गया और उनकी अस्थियाँ जापान लायी गई। तब से उनकी अस्थियाँ नकानो, टोकियो स्थित रेनकोजी बौद्ध मन्दिर में रखी हुई हैं। भारत सरकार ने 18 अगस्त, 1945 को एक विमान दुर्घटना में नेताजी की मृत्यु के प्रश्न के बारे में दो जाँच आयोग गठित किए थे। 1956 में गठित पहले जाँच आयोग के अध्यक्ष स्वर्गीय शाह नवाज खान थे और इस आयोग में नेताजी के बड़े भाई श्री एस. सी. बोस भी शामिल थे। बहुमत की राय यह थी कि नेताजी की मृत्यु विमान दुर्घटना में हुई और यह कि रेनकोजी मन्दिर में रखी अस्थियाँ नेताजी की हैं। तथापि नेताजी के भाई श्री एस. सी. बोस ने विपरीत मत दिया। 1970 में एक सदस्यीय न्यायाधीश श्री जी. डी. खोसला समिति ने भी यह निष्कर्ष निकाला कि रेनकोजी मन्दिर में रखी शव पेटिका में नेताजी की अस्थियाँ हैं। इस बात के प्रयास किए जा रहे हैं कि एक नई जाँच करवायी जाए। इस बात के लिए भी प्रयास किए जा रहे हैं कि अस्थियाँ उन्नी श्रद्धा और सम्मान के साथ भारत वापस लायी जाएं जो नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की महत्ता के व्यक्ति के उपयुक्त हो। तथापि, बहुत से लोगों को जिनमें नेताजी के भतीजे भी शामिल हैं नेताजी की कथित मृत्यु की घटना पर अभी

→ → भी संदेह है और वे अस्थियों की सच्चाई पर प्रश्न करते हैं। जापान में भी जहाँ अस्थियाँ रखी हुई हैं रेन्कोजी मन्दिर और नेताजी के जापानी सहयोगी इस बात के लिए बार-बार अनुरोध कर रहे हैं कि उनकी अस्थियाँ भारत वापस भेजी जाएँ। नेताजी की मृत्यु का मामला भावकतापूर्ण है और इस संबंध में अलग-अलग मत हैं। भारत सरकार के विचार में इस मामले पर मौलिक न होने पर अस्थियों को भारत वापस लाने से फूट पड़ सकती है और तनाव पैदा हो सकता है।

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 6630
TO BE ANSWERED ON 11TH MAY 1994

ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

6630. SHRI VIREN J. SHAH:
SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
be pleased to state:

(a) whether the casket containing the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is kept at Renkoji Buddhist temple in Tokyo;

(b) what steps Government have so far taken to bring back to India the ashes of Netaji from Tokyo; and

(c) what is Government's attitude in this regard?

ANSWER

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(SHRI R.L. BHATTIA)

(a), (b) & (c) Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was reported to have died in Taipei (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. His body was cremated two days later and the ashes carried to Japan. The ashes have since been maintained at the Renkoji Buddhist Temple in Nakano, Tokyo.

Two Commissions of Enquiry were appointed by the Government of India on the question of Netaji's death in the air crash on August 18, 1945. The first Enquiry Committee set up in 1956 was headed by late Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and included Netaji's elder brother Shri S.C. Bose. The majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in the aircrash and that the ashes at the Renkoji Temple were that of Netaji. However, Netaji's brother Shri S.C. Bose gave a dissenting view. In 1970, the one-man Justice G.D. Khosla Committee also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji Temple contained the ashes of Netaji. There have been attempts to have a new enquiry instituted. There have also been moves to have the ashes brought back to India, with all reverence and honour as befitting a man of the stature of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. However, many people, including Netaji's nephews, still doubt the event of Netaji's reported death and question the veracity of the ashes. In Japan itself, where the ashes are lodged, there have been repeated requests from the Renkoji Temple and Japanese associates of Netaji for the ashes to return to India. The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remain divided. Government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes back to India in absence of a consensus on the issue might prove divisive and create tensions.

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MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

NOTE FOR COMMITTEE OF SECRETARIES

Subject: Controversy about Netaji's death and allegations that he was an MI-6 agent.

Prime Minister's Office had asked Ministry of Home Affairs to prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that the controversy regarding Netaji's death may take in the context of the following:-

- (a) The series of articles, based on classified KGB Archives, alleging that Netaji was an MI-6 agent and one of his close aides was a KGB agent, published in Moscow in the bi-monthly magazine "Asia and Africa Today";
- (b) Netaji's birth centenary due in 1997.

2. The Ministry of External Affairs was asked to send us the English translation of the published articles. They have sent the following two Articles:-

- (i) The Secret Behind the Death of Subhash Chandra Bose - by A. Raikov.
- (ii) Whom Subhash Chandra Bose Fought Against During the Second World War Years - by V. Touradjev (Two issues).

3. The first Article by A. Raikov, a wellknown Indologist, is an account of how the ill-fated Japanese twin engine fighter plane carrying 11 passengers on board - including the Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army Command, Lt. Gen. Sidei, 8 more Japanese military officers and 2 Indian nationals, Netaji and his aide, Habibur Rehman - crashed immediately after take off from the Matsuyana Air Force base in Taiwan on 18th August, 1945. The plane was bound for Manchuria from Taihoku (Taiwan). It gives also a brief background of Netaji's

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activities between 1941 and 1944 as contained in a book entitled "Jumping Tiger" - by a Serving Officer, H. Toya, which is the record of findings of a thorough research on Netaji's activities during the period. The article also deals with the controversy that surrounded Netaji's death necessitating thorough official investigation by the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission and the rumours that persisted inspite of their common findings that he had indeed died in the plane crash in Taihoku (Taiwan). The most popular rumour that Netaji was staying in the USSR seems to have provoked the author into seeking access to classified KGB documents in the Russian Archives. In the opinion of the author, the conclusions drawn by various investigations, including those by the two special groups of officers from the British Intelligence Service that were despatched to Taiwan and Saigon to verify facts about his death (on the basis of whose reports the arrest warrant of Netaji was revoked) are not open to question. Netaji did die in the air crash of August 18, 1945.

4. In the second Article, the author has quoted one more document available in the KGB Archives, a 'certificate' which mentions "after the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1944, TASS, quoting British sources, informed from Tokyo that Subhash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan, died." After this the KGB closed Bose's case. This has been taken as a conclusive proof of Netaji's death in 1945.

5. The second Article, in two issues, is mainly intended to show that Netaji cooperated with the British Secret Service MI-6 and was a British plant in the heart of the Axis powers. The following conclusions have been drawn:-

- (a) During his stay in Berlin and subsequently in Singapore and Tokyo, Netaji did not conduct struggle against Great Britain; he fought against Germany and Japan.
- (b) In the person of Bose, an influential Indian politician who enjoyed tremendous authority in his motherland and whose sharp anti-British statements were widely known, the British introduced into the very heart of fascist Germany their man with a very reliable and convincing 'legend'. Through him the British rapidly came to know about strategic and tactical German plans

regarding India and the whole East and succeeded in neutralising persistent German attempts to create "a fifth column" in India to prepare a material and technical base for invading the sub-continent from land and sea.

- (c) Bose's vigorous activities to develop an underground network for espionage and sabotage in India was an illusion adroitly created by Soviet and British secret services. The Azad Hind Fauj, knocked together by Bose from Indian soldiers who had fought on the side of the Allies and who had been taken prisoners in Africa, Malaya and Burma, was a sham army serving as an exotic decoration for Netaji and by no means a serious force.
- (d) The comprehensive reports passed on by Bose to his German friends on the military and political situation in India were skillfully prepared misinformation.
- (e) That in Japan too, where he was shifted in the spring of 1943, Bose was more engaged in what can be termed 'window dressing'. His army, Azad Hind Fauj, an object of his pride, often marched bare-foot let alone with arms; but Netaji, having announced himself Head of State and Prime Minister of 'Free India', as well as Defence Minister and Foreign Minister, surrounded himself with an exorbitant suite, adjutants and servants. This was an attempt by him to put on the mask of an Oriental Padishah in order to make himself look important and significant in the eyes of his new bosses, the Japanese and the Germans, so that they trust him and share their plans with him.

6. The above conclusions are based mainly on the following facts:-

- (i) The ease with which Netaji and his associate, Bhagat Ram, managed to escape from India and get to Kabul.
- (ii) The silence kept by the British colonial authority for

so long regarding Bose's escape.

- (iii) Bose's friend and associate, Bhagat Ram, who owned a small shop in Kabul, was a professional British secret agent. In fact, he was an agent of four masters - USSR, Britain, Germany and Italy.
- (iv) The journey of Netaji in a German submarine enroute to Japan in March, 1943 and his transfer from the German to a Japanese submarine was known to the British in detail while he was still on his journey.
- (v) The British sent one of their wireless Operators to Berlin under the code name 'Tom' who provided them with an operative and independent radio link to Bose. The author suspects that, through Tom, Bose had informed London about his departure.
- (vi) The letter written by Netaji on 20th November, 1944 to the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, soliciting the Soviet Government's assistance for his struggle for independence, recalls the help extended by the Soviet Government to him when he left India in 1941. In view of the author, this appeal remained ineffective apparently because the Soviet security agencies did not want to complicate relations with their allies, having been informed that Bose was cooperating with British Secret Service.

7. In the author's view the facts contained in the foregoing Para 5 supplement Bose's mystic image and the halo of martyrdom and heroism. He traces the reason for Bose's collusion with the British to his possible realisation that facism had become the major enemy of entire humanity, including his beloved India. If he had gone for cooperation with the colonisers, it would have been only due to ideological convictions. Violence against individuals as well as racism preached by the fascists, and their hatred of humanity were strongly alien to him with strong democratic convictions along the lines of Vivekananda's teachings and paternal traditions of Hinduism, high moral ideals of the socialists. If he had recognised violent methods as justified then it was only in the struggle against colonialism. This explanation is apparently aimed at toning down the sharpness of his conclusions that Netaji had double-crossed. This notwithstanding, the

allegations have serious potential of whipping up popular sentiments in India, more so when the conclusions are seemingly based on flimsy grounds. There is reportedly no separate file on Netaji in the KGB Archives. The entire findings are based on Soviet intelligence reports from Afghanistan and other places and circumstantial evidence.

9-12/93
8. Ministry of External Affairs had knowledge of the impending Articles and their contents as early as June'93. In fact, the Indian Counsellor, Ajay Malhotra, had met Mr. V. Touradjev, the author and the Deputy Chief Editor of 'Asia and Africa Today' well before the Articles were published. Sincere and serious diplomatic efforts could perhaps have been made by our Mission in Moscow in forestalling publication of these articles. In his report to the Ambassador, Shri Malhotra mentions that he did not specifically urge Touradjev to have the articles withdrawn since it was evident that he would not do so in any case. The three issues seem to have appeared in September, November and December, 1993. It appears that the contents of these articles have not yet reached the Indian Media. That the likelihood of their being replayed in India in the near future cannot be ruled out. This may generate a new controversy. In view of IB, who were also consulted, publication of the Article alleging links of Netaji and his associates with MI-6 and KGB will evoke widespread reactions and could cause discomfiture to the Government. People would consider it to be a sinister design to tarnish the image of Netaji. Demands may also be raised from some quarters to have the allegation of Netaji having been an MI-6 agent verified from British sources. One of the Articles alludes to the necessity of referring to classified documents of the British Secret Service to ascertain the veracity of the author's conclusion. In any case, the Government agencies and media in India will have to be prepared in advance to convincingly rebut these allegations.

9. Meanwhile, the question of Netaji's mortal remains have assumed some urgency. The annual get-together of the Subash Chandra Bose Academy in Tokyo, on the occasion of the 48th Memorial Service last year, had received wide media coverage in Japan. The press reports were focussed on the concern expressed by the War Veterans of the Academy over Government of India's lack of interest in wishing to receive the ashes of Netaji in India. The Bose Academy members are reportedly thinking of disbanding the Academy and having the last memorial service in 1995 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary. If

no decision is taken by then, India may be asked by the temple to take charge of the mortal remains of Netaji whereby we may have no alternative but to store them in our Mission in Tokyo. It would look most inappropriate if we decline to take charge of the ashes.

10. We had sought the views of the MEA and IB. IB thinks it would not be advisable to take any initiative in bringing back the ashes to India, as there is no demand from any quarters for doing so. If the ashes are brought to India, the people of West Bengal are likely to construe it as an imposition on them of the official version of Netaji's death.

11. In the context of the widespread sentiments that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, MEA suggested that we should bring his ashes back to India with due respect and honour. According to them, the controversy on whether or not Netaji actually died in 1945 in Thaihoku and whether the ashes in the Renkoji Temple are indeed those of Netaji, is being continued by a vocal minority among whose leading figures are Shri Somar Guha and the Forward Block. As against this, there are many, including some of Netaji's relatives, who accept the ashes as genuine. They feel that the ashes should be brought to India with due respect and honour as befit a person of Netaji's stature, as part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's Independence. In pursuance of this, MEA suggested the following course preparatory to this:-

- (i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes from Japan - respected public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes; or
- (ii) alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary, with participation of public figures of various political opinions, who could give the call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

12. Incidentally, on the basis of pressure exerted by people like Shri Somar Guha, who have never accepted the death of Netaji, MEA

had asked the erstwhile Soviet Union/present Russian Federation if they had any information about Netaji's presence in Russia during or after 1945. The Russian Foreign Office has indicated that their archives do not contain any material indicating Netaji having gone to the Soviet Union. This should dispell the earlier popular rumour that Netaji was in the Soviet Union or in a labour camp in Siberia after 1945.

4/06
13. In response to public demand, Government of India appointed an Inquiry Committee in April, 1956 to ascertain the circumstances concerning Netaji's death in an air crash. The Committee comprised S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji) and S.N. Maitra, former Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on 18th August, 1945. Shri Suresh Chandra Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by Shri Suresh Chandra Bose's dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

7/20-74
14. The controversy over disappearance of Netaji persisted. Rumours about Netaji's survival and subsequent disappearance kept cropping up. In response to a demand for fresh inquiry by a number of MPs belonging to different political parties, the Government of India appointed a One-man Commission of Inquiry in July, 1970. Justice G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was asked to "inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and make a report to the Central Government." The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on 18th August 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the finding. The report of the Commission, along with the Memorandum of Action Taken thereon was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1974.

15. Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on 3rd August, 1977 urging Government to set up a 3-man Commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of disappearance of Netaji. The discussion on the Motion was inconclusive. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had

been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigation by a new Commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposal:-

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

2/91
The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

16. The allegation made in the paper entitled "Whom Subhash Chandra Bose Fought Against during Second World War years" that Netaji was an agent of MI-6 and his close associate, Bhagat Ram, an agent of four Masters, UK, USSR, Germany and Italy, is rather serious. This informatin has not yet been picked up by the Indian media. When this happens, there may be sharp reactions from various quarters. The Government may have to work out a strategy to deal with the fall out.

17. MHA after examining the entire matter, requested MEA for a critical analysis of the various diplomatic options available, including the option of asking the Government of Russia to authenticate the factual position from their own records and MEA's assessment on the likely response from the Russian Government. R&AW was also asked to do an indepth analysis of the existing information/intelligence and also develop additional intelligence to the extent possible to come to a conclusion regarding the facts of the case.

18. Ministry of External Affairs informed that the Russian Government was not aware of any facts which substantiate the allegations made in the magazine. Since there has been no publicity of these allegations either in Russia or India, MEA feels that there is no need for over-reacting to the publication of such allegations.

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R&AW feels that the contents of the articles are too sketchy, disjointed and incredible to place any reliance on the alleged intelligence links of Netaji and his associate, Bhagat Ram. However, considering the explosive potential of a possible replay of these write-ups in the Indian media, in the run-up to the birth centenary of Netaji in 1997, they have suggested that MEA take up the matter with the Russian Government at an appropriately high level to scotch any further attempt at such tendentious, lurid speculation regarding the life and work of one of the greatest patriots of India. MEA has been advised accordingly.

19. As for the controversy about Netaji's death and his mortal remains at the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, the matter has assumed considerable urgency in view of what has been mentioned in foregoing para 9. A decision will have to be taken soon. There seems to be no scope for doubt that he died in the air crash of 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. Government of India has already accepted this position. There is no evidence whatsoever to the contrary. If a few individuals/organisations have a different view, they seem to be guided more by sentimentality rather than by any rational consideration. The belief of these people that Netaji was alive and out of contact with any Indian, but would appear when found necessary, has also lost relevance by now. In view of the aforesaid facts, Government of India should take a decision in principle; the strategy and the modalities could be worked out thereafter.

20. The entire matter is placed before the Committee of Secretaries for consideration and directions on the following issues:-

- a) The birth centenary of Netaji is proposed to be celebrated in a big way in India in 1997. The Bose Academy in Japan is insisting that the Government of India should take possession of the mortal remains of Netaji. A decision has to be taken whether the ashes should be brought to India or stored in our Mission in Tokyo.
- b) The MEA should mount diplomatic efforts to forestall any further publication of such articles.
- c) The strategy will have to be worked out, in advance,

(48)

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-: 10 :-

for damage control in the event of the articles being
published in the Indian Media.

21. This issues with the approval of Home Secretary.

[Signature]
(C. PHUNSOG)

JOINT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

[F.No.I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) , Dated the 16th May,1994.)

THE SECRET BEHIND THE DEATH OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

By A. RAIKOV, D.Sc. (History)

On 18th of August 1945, four days after the Japanese Emperor had declared acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and of the fact of total capitulation, the Japanese twin-engine fighter 97-11-Satti took off to Manchuria from Matsuyama airforce base in Taiwan. All twelve anti-craft machine guns were removed from this fighter plane as all military actions in this region were called off. The first pilot AOYAGI, who piloted this flight was assisted by Major Takizawa.

There were altogether 11 passengers on board including the Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army command Lt. General Sidei, eight more Japanese military officers and two Indian nationals.

As this flight was heavily loaded, it could take off with great difficulty from the run-way. Soon after the departure, the left propeller followed by the left wing engine fell apart and the craft took a steep tilt to right and crashed on the ground, despite desperate efforts by the pilots. Both pilot Takizawa and the General, who sat on the front seats died. The passengers remaining alive had to come out practically through the flames. Among them, there were two Indians - prominent leader of the Indian freedom movement, Subhash Chandra Bose and his aide Habibur Rehman. Bose received serious burns and facial wounds. His aide helped him to get out of the burning clothes and laid him at the grass.

Evidence of H. Rehman on this mishap has been published on a number of occasions in the Indian press and in other literature. Later, it was further elaborated by a Japanese journalist, Tatsuo Khayasita in his book, which carries a complete list of names and addresses of those who remained alive. Nevertheless, the fact of the crash continues to be a mystery for many people.

It may be said without any exaggeration that this tragedy has evoked great attention among wide circles of the Indian public. It became one of the undisclosed mysteries of the last days of the Second World War and turned to be the subject of considerable literature. Now, 48 years passed and this issue has retained not only its acuteness but also acquired increased relevance. In this connection, our country's name is increasingly mentioned. Nobody bothers about the fate of the Japanese General and officers. Researchers and politicians only focus

on the fate of this person - Subhash Chandra Bose. Let us examine all versions that are available on date.

CRASH IN MATSUYAMA

How could Subhash Chandra Bose - a contemporary of Jawaharlal Nehru and elected President of Indian National Congress in 1938 and, being the most popular leader in India, happen to be on board the plane ? He represented that majority faction of Indian nationalists, who argued for mustering support from the nation's hostility ~~the~~ British. During the Second World War, he made a mistake by anticipating the victory of the fascist alliance and ran from India to Germany in 1941 and later managed to reach the East in a submarine. In Burma, he became the head of the puppet Government of "Free India" and commanded the so-called Indian National Army (INA) formed with the help of Japan, by recruiting Indian prisoners of war. Some divisions of this Army took part in the armed attack by the Japanese Army against the Indian town of Imphal.

With the Japanese defeat, Bose's position became weak and the British Court prepared a severe sentence on him for his alleged alliance with the enemy. At that point, according to versions of some researchers, Bose tried to seek asylum in the Soviet Union and expected to get support there for his patriotic activity. He could astutely foresee the cracks in relations among the anti-Hitler coalition and thought of taking advantage of it. The Japanese command in Burma offered him support in this and he left for Mukden from Singapore in order to establish contacts with the Soviets. The Matsuyama crash shattered this flight. Further developments were covered in Khayasidas book, who happened to be in Taibei.

Heavily wounded Bose, who fell unconscious, was removed to the hospital, where he died after eight in the evening despite intensive medical treatment including transfusion of blood, injections and sulphamide drugs. At the time of his demise, two Japanese doctors Iosimi and Tsuruta, Habibur Rehman, interpreter Nakamura, and a Chinese nurse were present. Nakamura recalled that immediately after the last breath of Bose, his aide Rahman bent on his knees and prayed for a few minutes with tear filled eyes. He tried to get the body of Bose transported either to Singapore or Japan. But the Japanese decided to cremate him immediately. The funeral ceremony took place on 22 August in the presence of Habibur Rahman, two Japanese officers and a Buddhist priest. The mortal remains of Bose were then brought to Tokyo by Habibur Rahman, where a similar ceremony was held before keeping it in a Buddhist temple, Renkoji, six kilometres from the central part of Tokyo.

The first news about the demise of Bose was conveyed by Japanese Radio on 20 August and on 23 August, it was officially confirmed.

This tragic news really stunned the Indians and thousands of soldiers of the INA in Burma perceived the demise of Bose as their personal tragedy. In India itself, his compatriots, who had come to know a lot about Bose in Burma and Malaya through the media, and highly regarded him, were shocked by the news of his death. But, the atmosphere started changing quickly. The issue around the delayed information on the crash was raised for debate, though it was easy to explain the chaos and confusion which prevailed at that time in a country which fought a lost battle and awaited foreign occupation. It was widely believed that some secret had been hidden and it was felt that there was something behind the disappearance of Bose. Even, M.K. Gandhi stated : "I am deeply convinced that Subhash Babu (in Bengali - Mr.) is alive".

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Indians were not the only ones who evinced interest in this incident. The British Government was concerned by the fact that thousands of Indians joined INA, the popularity of which was high as a fighter for freedom, and so decided to organise a show-down legal prosecution against the leadership of INA, primarily against Bose. An arrest warrant was signed and issued. Two special groups, consisting of officers from the Intelligence Service, led by Finn and Davis were appointed for investigation. The Davis group visited Saigon, from where the plane with Bose on board took off for Taibey. Later, it went to Taiwan. The Finn group made a series of inquiries in Bangkok. Both, Finn and Davis prepared reports on their investigations which were never published. But there is one very interesting fact which allows one to judge the results achieved : as a result, the arrest warrant on Bose was revoked. Obviously, one can suppose that convincing evidence of the death was received.

One more parallel investigation was conducted by the Director of Anglo-Indian Military Intelligence under General McArthur in Tokyo, which gave a similar report. One should not ignore a detailed documentary compilation "Jumping Tiger" by a Service Officer H. Toya, which covered the entire activity of Bose between 1941-1945. This book was released in London in 1959 and was highly evaluated by experts. H. Toy never questioned the death of Bose.

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Soon, the Indian side also started its own investigation. The popularity of Bose in India and especially in Bengal shot up to its peak. Tens of books on him and on his INA were published - selective and collected works, speeches of Bose, memoirs by close contemporaries of Bose, collection of documents on the activity of "Free India" in Burma were published. In that atmosphere, a case against three detained officers of INA was lost and the British Court did not even dare to sentence them and therefore, released them.

The Indian public has virtually craved for confirmation of rumours that Bose was alive. Recently launched Indian agencies like "Free Press of India" and "News Service" have sent their correspondent Harin Shah to Taiwan, and for this visit, the founder of these agencies Sadanand could manage to get personal invitation from Chiang Kaishek. Two contemporaries of Bose - A.K.N. Nambiar, who was in Germany with him and A.K. Iyer - who was in Burma travelled along with Harin Shah.

The Indians worked very thoroughly. They questioned a number of eye-witnesses and others, majority of whom were of Chinese nationality, witness to those events. They were, mostly workers of the hospital where Bose died, as well as officers of the Bureau of Health and Hygiene of Taipei.

Evidence was collected even from the Japanese witnesses who remained in Taiwan after its independence from Japanese occupation. Harin Shah photographed the most important witnesses as well as documents, for example, Bose's death registration certificate, the unearthed Tsian Pisha, a Chinese hospital sister, who told him the most disconcerting phrase in all his investigations : "He died here, I was by his side". Harin Shah wrote later that the sister's words put him and his fellow-men in a daze close to delirium. "we looked at her as if we were in a trance".

The Indians followed Bose's last journey from the hospital bed to the crematorium, while still searching for all those who accompanied him on this journey right down to the Chinese crematorium worker, Chu Tsung, who did do a cremation on the 22nd of August at 6 o'clock in the evening. Harin Shah examined the chamber, holy for every Indian which was used only once in 1945 as it was meant for tall, stalwart people, and Bose was definitely not one such man.

Invariably, all the witnesses questioned alluded to the fact that Bose and later his body was accompanied by a tall Indian with a bandaged arm and a cut on the face. That was Habibur Rehman. All the facts that Harin Shah received, linked up : He made a statement that "no contradictions had been uncovered as concerns the fate of Bose's body".

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CONTRADICTORY FACTS

All the same, it is true that some contradictions are not all that substantial. For example, a disparity exists in naming the actual time of Rose's death. The hospital sister, Tsian Pisha stated that death occurred at 11 o'clock in the evening, T. Haisida - after 8 in the evening, H. Rahman - at 9 or 10 in the evening, the Taipei University Professor K.S. Bei - at 1.30 in the afternoon, and in the death certificate, preserved in the crematorium records, the time of death has been moved up to 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 19th August. More so, the cause of death has been named as heart-attack. Harin Shah did not fix his attention on these contradictions and remarked only that Rose's death certificate had been "carelessly drawn up".

Facts about Rose's last words also arouse interest. Habibur Rehman published Rose's last message to his fellow countrymen : "I have fought till the very end for India's freedom and now give up my life for this goal. My countrymen ! Carry on this struggle . Very soon India will be free. Long Live Free India ! " This is the very message that an eminent leader should give to his people.

But totally different words - "My Greetings to Commander Terauti" - are stated in the report of the 4th Division of the Asian Department of the Japanese Ministry of External Affairs, published in 1956 and wholly devoted to Bose's visit to South East Asia from 1943-45, with the purpose of making evident that Japan rendered him all possible assistance. "These were his last words" - says the document. And finally, according to the evidence of the hospital sister Tsian Pisha, his last words were the following : "A calm death. I die with peace."

When together with Harin Shah, one goes over his book, "Verdict from Formosa" and the last pages of the drama in Taipei open, it is impossible to believe that we are reading of someones devilish thoughts, the purpose of which was to cover one's tracks and hide the truth. Even the Japanese Matav Oabi whom Harin Shah not quite unexpectedly in the University Hospital, informed that his brother, a military police official, Masanori Nagaki, recounted to him the catastrophe at the aerodrome and of Bose's death, and that he was accompanied by another Indian with a wounded arm.

It is impossible not to mention one other supposition. If one were to assume that the catastrophe had not taken place and that a

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secret agreement of some kind exists, which for some reason concerns the Japanese, then why should the Chinese personnel of the hospital and crematorium confirm the fact of Bose's death ? After all, when Harin Shah visited Taiwan, Taiwan was already free of Japanese power and the Chinese had no one to fear.

In 1947 an important meeting took place between Harin Shah and H. Rehman. As a result of a lengthy discussion that they had, Harin Shah came to the conclusion that his answers "totally confirmed all the facts, that had been collected by me from important witnesses in Formosa". In the end of 1948 or in the beginning of 1949, he met with Bose's brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, only to quickly start that whatever the fate may be, his feelings would never allow him to accept that his brother was dead. It is to be mentioned that Sarat Chandra Bose did not state any reasonable or logical arguments for justifying his stand and was only guided by emotions.

Harin Shah also met with the outstanding leader of the Indian National Congress, Vallabhbhai Patel, who did not have the least doubt that Bose had died. However, Harin Shah's book on the investigations conducted by him could not be printed for the next 10 years and was published only in 1956. Not hiding his insulted feelings, Harin Shah wrote that though he was the only Indian to visit Taiwan immediately after the war and to collect convincing evidence on the circumstances surrounding Bose's death, a conspiracy of silence was organised around this issue. When after his investigations Harin Shah was preparing to leave Taiwan, he received a telegram from the head of the Sadanand Agency which well illustrates the attitude in India towards the news concerning Bose : "If you say that he is dead, then this is no news. If he is alive, then come back by any method, hire a plane".

In 1947, India gained Independence. In those happy, thrilling and at the same time very troubled years, the question of Bose's fate somewhat lost its intensity. From 1945 till 1950, no Indian appeared at the temple of Renkoji to honour the distinguished Indian leader. The modestly dressed Buddhist monk was the only caretaker of the urn of his ashes.

THE TREASURE SUITCASES

But soon after the proclamation of the Indian Republic, the situation began to change. In May 1950 the head of the Indian Diplomatic Mission in Japan, K.K. Chettiyar, paid the temple a visit, after which

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Indians began to appear there regularly. And by the year 1955, on 18th August, the day of Bose's death, a memorial service was held there, which was attended by prominent Japanese personalities other than Indians. Also present were the widow of the Japanese premier Todzio and four generals.

It was then that there also began to surface some not so unimportant facts and details that had earlier not interested anyone. These concern, in particular, the issue of jewels, found in Bose's suitcases. It became known that two of them contained approximately 140 kg. each of gold jewellery - rings, bracelets, chains, necklaces, sacrifices made by the Indian population living in the Japanese occupied countries for the needs of the INA and Bose's leadership. Habibur Rehman stated that on the very next day after Bose's death, he had enquired of them from the Japanese officials. He was informed that the aircraft had burnt along with its cargo contents, but that some small amount of jewellery had been saved. Haisida wrote that all the involved personnel did everything to fulfill their duty, to collect and preserve all the valuables and now (the book was published in 1964) they are "a contribution to Indo-Japanese friendship".

Actually, however, things look different. The jewels were collected with the help of a few tens of people, who covered the site of the catastrophe with sand, after which the gold and jewellery were put into a big jerry-can and sealed. But Habibur Rehman was handed over a wooden box with the valuables in addition to the broken seat. They weighed in all only 11 Kgs. and everything had been damaged by fire. Later, this box was kept under the care of the President of the League of Indian Independence, Murli, in Tokyo, who on 24 September 1951 handed it over to the Indian Mission in Tokyo, after which it was delivered to Delhi and placed in the State Museum.

It is interesting to note that Bose's gold cigarette case with diamonds, a present to him by Hitler, was preserved.

In spite of all the investigations and evidence from eye-witnesses, the belief that Bose had not died and that the story of the in-air catastrophe was cleverly fabricated, continued in India.

A new attempt to reach for the truth was undertaken. The Director of the Bureau of Information of the Government of Bombay State, S.A. Iyer, who in August 1945 himself saw Bose off at the Saigon airport and who later went to Tokyo, where he met H. Rehman in late May 1951, again set off for Japan so as to convince himself that the air crash in Taipei had really taken place. Apparently, the most important event for him were the meetings with the surviving aviation Colonel Nanogaki and Army Captain Arai. They confirmed the evidence collected by H. Rehman, already known to him.

On the 15th of September 1951, he was invited by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for discussions, to whom he showed photographs and documents that he had collected and which had been signed by Japanese. "I don't have the least doubt that the ashes that are in the temple of Renkoji in Tokyo - are indeed the ashes of Netaji", - stated S.A. Iyer. A resume of his report to the Prime Minister was presented before the Indian Parliament.

However, as before, these evidences were not believed, and wide circles of Indian society demanded official investigations. The Government was compelled to yield and on 5th April 1956, a special committee to study the facts concerning the last period of Bose's life was constituted, "as public opinion demanded that all the facts be studied and then made public". Its composition was carefully prepared. First of all it included Subhash Chandra Bose's elder brother - Suresh Chandra Bose. The Committee also consisted of Shah Nawaz Khan, the INA Major General and the then Parliamentary Secretary for Transport and Railways. He literally worshipped Bose, as his memoirs published in 1946 make clear.

The third member of the Committee was S.N. Maitra, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, that were occupied by Japanese troops and later "handed over" to Bose's leadership.

The Committee worked under difficult conditions, being subject to the strongest of pressures. It immediately met with conflicting evidences which did not at all help objective investigations. A member of the Legislative Assembly of Madras State, M. Thevar, made some sensational statements that he had recently made contact with Bose. However, the Parliamentarian refused to produce any documents or share any secrets with the members of the Committee. The Committee's attention was drawn to Bose's instructions, supposedly given by him to his comrades-in-arms, to go underground and be in contact with him on radio. Such attempts were indeed made in Bangkok in the 10 days after Bose's departure but without success.

The members of the Committee conducted laborious investigations in Delhi, Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo, having interrogated 67 witnesses including four of the six surviving Japanese officers. In its report, the Committee stated that it did not receive any evidence directly confirming Bose's death.

From the photograph, printed after his death with his face covered, it was impossible to identify him, though H. Rehman (in the photograph, standing next to him) explained that Bose's face was very swollen and

Shah Nawaz
Committee

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was also disfigured by cuts and wounds. At that time, Rehman lived in Pakistan, but his testimony was received by the Committee.

The Committee could not visit Taiwan due to absence of diplomatic relations between India and the Kuomintang Government, but it took into account the findings of the investigation carried out by Harin Shah. The Committee noted that it had got testimonies on Bose's death from persons of different nationalities who had not been in touch with each other and therefore, any agreement between them was ruled out. Thus, there was no reason to doubt the fact. A report by the Committee emphasised that Bose's remains lay in the temple of Renkoji in Tokyo and should be shifted to India to erect a memorial over them at a proper venue.

ADVANTAGE THEME

However, not all members of the Committee agreed with those findings. Bose's brother Suresh refused to sign the report and submitted an alternative text casting doubts on the Committee's findings. In this connection that part of the report is noteworthy which sets forth considerations by the authors regarding those who do not believe in Bose's death. Such people can be divided into two groups. The first one comprises members of Bose's family who believe that he is alive, out of contact with any Indians and would appear in India when he finds it necessary. Bose's relatives are of the opinion that the Japanese Government helped him to go into hiding and, as for Rehman's testimonies, one should not attach any importance to them since he is bound by an oath. An official report by the Commissioner rejected this argument on the ground that Japanese testimonies are confirmed by representatives of other nations. Besides, if H. Rehman is bound by an oath, this is not the case with the Japanese, who simply have no reasons to lie. Let us add to this that under the conditions of the Cold War when Japan became a US ally and when antagonists used any facts for conducting a propagandistic war, it would have been very advantageous for Japan and the West to spread information that Bose had reached Mukdan, crossed the Soviet border and was apparently being kept in prison. That would have been a very advantageous theme, promising them a lot of benefits from varied points of view. There could have been individual Japanese eager to use the sensational material to further their own ends. However, nothing like that happened. The report stresses that the second group sticks to the opinion that Bose has been seen by some people, that from time to time he turns up in different places, for instance, in China. The

author of a brochure published in India argued that initially Bose had been a Russian prisoner, later - a General of the Chinese Army and subsequently a member of the Mongolian trade union delegation to China. Some people even stated that they have seen Bose among Nagas fighting against Indian troops.

In spite of the fact that the official committee of 1956 carried out a lot of work and collected numerous pieces of evidence on Bose's death, its report was considerably devalued by Bose's brother's refusal to sign the document, his rejection of the very thought of Bose's death and submitting of the text of his own findings. This circumstance only multiplied those who doubted the fact of Bose's death in 1945. The number of conjectures about his possible fate increased. The prevailing version was that Bose was in the Soviet Union. The Indian Government was repeatedly presented with demands that it should conduct another investigation. In December 1967, about 350 Indian MPs sent a memorandum to the Indian President insisting that explorations should be carried out in cooperation with the Governments of Japan and Taiwan. "Nothing but such an investigation would satisfy the public opinion and would dissipate the mystery of the Netaji", said the message. In June 1968, a prominent Indian historian Samar Guha stated at a press conference that "a new investigation of the Netaji's mystery is our national duty".

After a delay of two more years, the Indian Government was eventually induced to appoint by an ordinance of 11 July 1970 a commission consisting of one member - G.D. Khosla, a retired Judge who earlier headed the Supreme Court of Punjab. He was entrusted with the mission to "explore circumstances related to the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in 1945 and subsequent events". By that decision the Government itself questioned the findings of the 1956 Committee.

G.D. Khosla accomplished the mission. He published records of examination of all major witnesses who tried to prove that Bose had not died in a crash landing and indicated numerous contradictions in their testimonies. "We should reconcile ourselves to the fact of his death and seek consolation in the thought that he died ardently serving his motherland", he wrote in the report, maintaining further that it was time to abandon all doubts regarding the death of the outstanding politician.

A CLUE

As a result of the investigation yet another book was published in India. But the situation did not change in the least. From time to time

the Indian press published sensational reports of a most incredible character. A furore was created by the report that one Sadhu in Shaulmari Ashram, West Bengal was identified as Bose, the fact having been confirmed by many of his associates. A sudden disappearance of the Sadhu seemingly proved the correctness of the surmise. The report was especially intriguing as one Delhi taxi driver stated that he had seen Bose in that disguise. There were also testimonies that he had been seen in Rangoon dressed as a Burmese priest. An explanation as to why he was in hiding was also suggested : it was alleged that his personality sustained changes, he had lost his memory and was even unaware that the war was over.

WISR But still the most popular was the version according to which Bose was staying in our country. The data available on that score might be divided into two groups. According to the first one, Bose was welcomed in Moscow as an honourable person. Somebody testified that on December 24, 1956 Bose had been received in the Kremlin. Others maintained that Bose had been seen in a Siberian camp. Former MP, Dr. Satya Narayan Sinha told G.D. Khosla that this had been conveyed to him by a certain Russian Officer Kuslov (Kislov?).

The fate of the Swedish diplomat Raul Vallenberg greatly stirred up interest for the latter version.

"Echo of the Planet" Magazine (November 22, 1992) published a well-founded article by A. Vinogradov titled "Life and death of Netaji Bose" - the first one exploring this subject in our press. The article contains a number of facts which indicate that, after the Second World War, Bose seemed to stay in the Soviet Union. But since it adduces no indisputable document, the article unfortunately, can only add to the long list of Indian publications of the same kind. The author is supplemented with a remarkable editorial note which very cautiously says that "Moscow is quite well informed about the real state of things, more than this, the relevant document is available". Unfortunately, it is impossible to understand why precisely is meant by "the real state of things" and to what that document "relates. The reference made to "reliable sources" is astonishing too. In the epoch of openness we have got accustomed that our journalists do not conceal things they know.

The author of the article has at his disposal a single reliable document pertaining to the subject - a letter by the "Main Archives Department of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR which says that the archives of the Foreign Ministry contain no documents on contacts between Soviet diplomats and Bose.

However, there are many other archives in our country. Probably they contain a clue to the mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose.

NECESSARY EPILOGUE

By V. TOURADJEV

Probably, until recently only experts knew about Chandra Bose in our country, though he is quite an extraordinary figure. Bose is not only a prominent politician. He is a remarkable, but in many aspects also, a controversial personality, a man whose life and fate are wrapped up in a shroud of many legends and mysteries. One of the mysteries is connected with our country. Many in India and not only in India, are still confident that at the very end of the War, Netaji found himself in the Soviet Union, where his traces were lost.

The above article by A. Raikov who has been for a long time engaged in profound studies on India seems to give a well-grounded answer to this question. Indeed, serious scholars do not look for sensations and do not question the fact of Subhash Chandra Bose's death in August 1945. Documents and testimonies quoted by A. Raikov, convincingly proved this....

But stil..... still doubts remain.

Vinogradov's article published in "Echo of the Planet" says that Habibur Rehman who accompanied Bose in his last flight got off from the plane in Taiwan and thus became not a victim, but a witness to the crash landing. However, the facts quoted by A. Raikov are indicative of a different thing. Habibur Rehman was near Netaji when the bomber crashed, having lost its left engine, and both of them had to get out from under the debris through the flames. All those who were helping both Indians in those dramatic hours saw Habibur Rehman's bandaged hand and burnt face.

The discrepancy is very serious. If A. Vinogradov is right (and he leans on materials from the Indian press) then the version about Netaji's double or, at least, about a man who pretended to be Subhash Chandra Bose, is possible. Japanese officers who flew with him in the plane, as well as Chinese personnel of the airport and in Taipei Hospital where efforts were made to save Bose's life did not know him by face. Habibur Rehman knew him, but he got off the plane literally a few minutes before the crash landing. What was the reason for that? The bomber was heavily overloaded. But there were other passengers in it and a lot of luggage. And how could Netaji who was accustomed to numerous servants and personal guards be left without his adjutant? Did he plan to cross the Soviet border alone?

In such a case can we assume that Bose was not in the plane which crashed in Taiwan on the 18th of August 1945. Could it be that the crash landing was pre-arranged and Rehman, knew about it and left the plane in time ? But which party so cunningly organised that ? Were they Bose's friends - the Germans ? But at that time fascist Germany was plunged into defeat and ruin and leaders of the Third Reich hid themselves as cockroaches in the cracks, committed suicide or were arrested and awaited trial. Were they Bose's patrons - the Japanese ? But Japan just before that announced its surrender and its Generals cared only about saving their skins. Does it follow that they were Russians ? But what on earth could be their reason ? True, there were also the British- sworn enemies of Netaji. As is known, they had issued a warrant to arrest him. But they wanted Bose himself and not his double. However, there is a variant under which it would be convenient for the British to deal precisely with his double. We will discuss that variant later.

Let us consider quite a simple question, dictated by common sense : What could be the reason for Bose's desire to go to the Soviet Union ? It is known that Moscow for many years demonstratively abstained from any contacts with him. (Here also follows a natural question - Why ?). And what could be the fate of the man who during the whole war had cooperated with fascists in the country which had first of all suffered from fascism ? Bose could admire "effectiveness and discipline" of the Nazis in the Thirties, but by the end of the War he already knew about extermination camps and gas chambers in Europe, about genocide of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelarussians, Jews, about sufferings and tortures of peoples, enslaved by the Swastika. Could Bose expect a warm welcome in the USSR ? Of course, he could not.

So, consequently he found himself in a Siberian camp", - again repeat those who stubbornly insist on "the Russian trace". Well, for God's sake, was Bose eager to get into a Soviet jail ". He, so to say, had an option, not necessarily in triumph. Probably, at first he would have had to stay there in hiding. But in India he was adored and worshipped. And could the warrant to arrest, issued by British authorities, prevent him ? No.

But there was another reason. And here we are approaching the main point which actually accounts for this note as a follow up of A. Raikov's article. The thing is that the editors of "Asia and Africa Today" got the

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opportunity to acquaint themselves with material from the KGB archives which are in some way related to Subhash Chandra Bose. In our opinion, these documents induce one to take a new glance at the life and fate of the prominent figure of the Indian national liberation movement. We will discuss this subject in the next issue of the magazine.

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"Asia and Africa Today" (Number 9, 1993)
"Whom Subhash Chandra Bose fought against during Second World War years"

By V. Touradjev

"In the epilogue to A. Raikov's article "Mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose's death" published in the previous issue of the magazine we informed our readers that we had got an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with materials from the KGB archives in some way connected with life and activities of that leader of the Indian national liberation struggle, an associate of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Referring for assistance to the Intelligence Service of Russia we wanted to find out whether at the very end of World War II Bose had really found himself in the Soviet Union and what had happened to him. Rumours that he did not die in the air crash in Taiwan and did manage to get to Moscow, that he was noticed in Siberian camps are actively circulating not only abroad but also here, in the country of victorious Glasnost (openness) and democracy.

Last year Subhash Chandra Bose was awarded the Bharat Ratna - the highest award of India, and in this connection arguments regarding his fate flared up with new force.

So what really happened to Bose? Do the KGB archives contain an answer to this question?

Documents which became available to the editors are very interesting, though they do not contain messages by fearless KGB men who would have reported as to how they had unscrewed nuts from an engine resulting in the crash of the airplane with Bose on board. Neither do they contain reports from Siberian camps which could have given rise to conjectures that Bose spent his last days right there. However, there is something in the materials from the KGB archives which would astonish not only Bose's Indian admirers. I realise the power of the information bomb which will explode on the pages of the magazine. For a long time I meticulously studied the documents received. They are old, they contained information

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is chaotic. But nevertheless only one conclusion can be made on their basis. For this we shall have to refer to the events which occurred over half a century ago, at the very beginning of 1941.

With a forged passport

By that time Bose finally fell out with M.K. Gandhi and J. Nehru and established his own party - the Forward Bloc. He continued with his extremely radical position against British colonial rule and stood up for an independent and socialist India. He was telling friends that his intention was to move to the USSR and with Moscow's help to develop an active struggle for the liberation of the passionately loved motherland. England was his enemy number one. In turn the British perceived him as a dangerous rebel. They repeatedly jailed him, and late in 1940 he was again arrested. Court proceedings against him were to start on the 27th January, 1941. But the trial did not take place either in January or later. Bose escaped. The circumstances of his escape are not known.

But there is information about his subsequent movements. Early in 1941 he turned up in Kabul together with Bhagat Ram, an activist of the left party Kirti Kisan which was close to the communists. Very soon they established contact with the German and Italian Embassies and in short time telegrams flew to Berlin and Rome reporting that the leader of the Forward Bloc party, Subhash Chandra Bose, sought German patronage, requested to take him across to Germany and offered his services for a joint struggle against the British.

Circumstances of Bose's advent in Afghanistan and steps he took there are extremely important for understanding further events, so we are narrating them in details.

Thus, Bose arrived in Afghanistan and referred for help to the Germans and not to the Russians, and requested them to take him to Berlin and not to Moscow. Some sources, including Bhagat Ram, maintain that it was practically impossible to get in touch with the Soviet Embassy, whereas it was no problem for the Afghans, and consequently for the Indians to get access to the Germans. This is true. But in Kabul Bhagat Ram had a friend and reliable associate in the person of Uttam Chand, an owner of a small shop. Bhagat Ram owned a flat attached to that shop which

traded in gramophones and records of a famous British firm "His Master's Voice". Therefore, Uttam Chang knew a path to the Russians, but for some reason did not propose to Bose to use it. One may surmise that Bose anyway did not want to.

While giving evidence to an investigator in the Butyrskaya prison on January 20, 1946, Gans Pilger, the German Ambassador to Afghanistan, stated (quote from a rough copy of the record of evidence): "On arriving in Kabul Bose immediately approached me and subsequently Kuaroni (the Italian Ambassador), having stated that he is the leader of an Indian political party and that his party wages struggle in India against the British. Bose requested us to help him in emigrating from Kabul to Germany. I enquired from the German Foreign Ministry about that question, and they suggested that I should help Bose to leave for Berlin."

The Germans sought cooperation of the Soviet Embassy. Nowadays this seems strange and even improbable, but let us recall that in 1939 Moscow and Berlin signed two agreements which announced "friendliness" in Soviet-German relationship. However, that did not prevent them from being on the alert about each other. The appeal by German "friends" did not surprise Moscow. By that time Lubyanka (the KGB) had already got a message by its agent about "a certain Hindu who escaped from India to Afghanistan and found shelter with "brewers". The Hindu was Bose, and as "brewers" KGB men designated German Secret Service men.

"Brewers" wanted to airlift Bose to Berlin by a Soviet plane. That was Pilger's request at his meeting with our Ambassador. He also promised that Italian instructors who worked at the Kabul airport would be able to place the Indian on board, in secret from Afghan personnel. But the Soviet side categorically opposed the plan. "Brewers" had to provide Bose with a forged passport in the name of Italian engineer Orlando Mazzotti, since the Italian allies were in the know of the story. Fearing that British agents might have the Indian revolutionary shadowed, the Germans requested issuing of a Soviet entrance visa to Bose in his absence. For this purpose our Embassy was specially visited by Pilger's assistant, Head of Chancery of the German Embassy, Schmidt. On March 15, visa N 064033 was stamped in the passport of Italian subject O. Mazzotti which allowed him transit through the Soviet Union without the right to halt. The instructions regarding issue of the visa was given personally by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs A.Y. Vyshinsky.

After three days, Bose accompanied by a staffer of the German Embassy, Wenger, left Kabul by car and on March 22, crossed the Afghan-Soviet border in the area of the Termez-Zaremba border control post. After that via Bukhara and Samarkand he set out by train for Moscow and further - for Berlin.

During all that time neither the British nor the Indian press carried a single line about Bose. Half a year passed, and only then he suddenly became the topic of the day. It was indeed sudden as if somebody had given the command to start it. The row was incredible. Newspapers were headlined "Mysterious disappearance of Bose", "Bose mysteriously vanished", "Where is Subhash Chandra Bose?" etc. State officials, diplomats, journalists were racking their brains as to what could have happened to the Forward Bloc leader, how he had managed to escape and where he had been hiding himself. At last, on November 10, in Delhi while speaking to members of the State Council, Minister of Home Affairs Conrad Smith made a statement:

"Since recently it has become known that Subhash Chandra Bose is either in Rome or Berlin in order to support the German invasion of India by the method of the "fifth column". Leaflets have emerged in the country which leave no doubt that he has sided with the enemy."

An analogous statement was made in London at the House of Commons by the British Minister for Indian and Burmese Affairs. Officials stated that they did not have any information as to how Bose had managed to escape from the colonial authorities.

The "Times of India" put forward its own version. In its issue of 12 November, 1941 it published an article which hazarded a conjecture that Bose had managed to leave India by a Japanese ship and subsequently, via Soviet territory, reached Italy or Germany.

The British Ambassador to Kabul having visited the Soviet Ambassador under some formal pretext, questioned him during the conversation as to whether he knew anything about Bose and whether the latter had been issued a visa for travel to Germany. The Englishman was of the opinion that Bose could have reached Berlin only via the Soviet Union or Iran. It was

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stated to the British diplomat that the Soviet Embassy in Kabul did not possess any information about Bose, had had no contact with him and had never issued a visa to a person having that name. Formally that was true, for the visa had been received by Italian engineer Orlando Mazzotti.

My enemy's enemy is my friend

Thus, Bose found himself in Berlin where he launched an active anti-British campaign. Speaking on the radio, he wrathfully stigmatised British colonialism and urged the Indians to side with the "Axis countries" (Germany, Italy, Japan). He emotionally maintained that the military defeat of Great Britain would entail liberation of India from centuries-old humiliation and slavery. He started to organise his Indian followers into a new military political organisation - The Indian National Revolutionary Committee - which was assigned the task of forming combat groups under conditions of profound secrecy and of starting large-scale subversive operations against the British.

Bose persuaded the Germans to make the Italians transfer to him ^hIndian soldiers captured in Africa. Those soldiers were proposed to constitute a core of "Azad Hind Fauj" which, as conceived by the Netaji, would triumphantly enter the motherland under the national green-white-orange banner. The organisation "Free India" which he had set up in Berlin, practically performed in the eyes of its patrons the functions of "the Indian Government in exile" waiting for an opportunity to formally obtain this status and to receive international recognition.

Bhagat Ram, Bose's friend and kindred spirit who had helped him to escape to Afghanistan, was the main, if not the sole channel of Bose's contacts with his followers in India. This personality is very interesting and worth examining closely.

Having sent Bose to the Soviet Union, Ram shortly started to workfor the Italians. On their instructions he made several trips to India and provided them with required information. The Italians were extremely happy. Intelligence data supplied by Bhagat Ram became a regular feature of reports by the Italian secret service in Kabul.

However, German intelligence service were also alert about him, for they, naturally, had the detailed information about the valuable agent Kwaroni had managed to obtain. "Brewers" believed (it was actually suggested to them by Bose himself) that Bhagat Ram could become a connecting link between the Berlin Headquarters of the Netaji and his followers in India who were really regarded by the Nazis as the "fifth column".

Meanwhile the Germans were thoroughly preparing for the invasion of the British colony. They well-groundedly considered that loss of "the Indian Pearl" would deliver a devastating blow to the British Empire.

Directive N 32 by the German General Headquarters, dated 11 June 1941 envisaged "continuation of the struggle against British positions in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Middle East by concentric offence which is proposed to be launched from Libya through Egypt, from Bulgaria through Turkey, and also, depending on the situation, towards the Trans-Caucasian region through Iran." The objective of that offence was to annex Iran, Trans-Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, South Arabia."

Through Afghanistan, the Nazis planned to reach India, lay their hands on Indonesia, New Guinea, Borneo, Malaya, Singapore, the Islands of Oceania.

That is why the Germans developed such active espionage and subversive activities in Afghanistan. Afghanistan was a springboard for their jump towards the East, and they set great hopes on Bhagat Ram. He was no stranger in the area of the Pushtoon tribes and had many friends in Afghanistan. Like Subhash Chandra Bose he did not conceal his anti-British views, announced his willingness to pay any price for achieving the main goal of his life - liberation of India from colonial oppression. Such a man could not but become an object of "brewers'" attention, who at first were embarrassed only by the fact that he had contacted them on his own while helping Bose to shift to Berlin. The Germans badly needed Indian sources of information, reliable agents, arms depots, secret addresses. Having considered Bose and having checked him through their channels, they shortly offered him cooperation in the struggle against the common enemy - the British. Ram did not hesitate for long. In the long run the Oriental adage proclaims: "My enemy's enemy is my friend". Besides in Berlin Bose was also vigorously developing work. Contacts with him could be exercised only through the Germans - Ram gave his consent. Having received a conspiratorial name of Rahmat Khan, Bhagat Ram became a secret agent of the German military intelligence in India. This happened in May, 1941.

Favoured by Fuehrer

The above-mentioned examination records made at the Butyrskaya prison in Moscow in 1945-46 are sufficiently indicative of the importance to the Germans of the "Subhash Chandra Bose-Bhagat Ram "Linkage". But now I quote by Zugenbiller, a cypher officer of the German military intelligence posted in Kabul under cover of the German trade representation. He said: "The German Government and intelligence bodies considered that the priority in activities of the German intelligence service in Afghanistan consisted in deepening work with Bose and Rahmat Khan." What was the concrete manifestation of this? Zygenbiller clarifies: "Rahmat Khan was assigned the task of highlighting the political situation inside India on the basis of materials provided by the underground organisation which had been set up by Bose, gaining intelligence information about British military efforts in India, and of conveying instructions on subversive activities against the British in India to Bose's organisation. For these purposes we gave to Rahmat Khan considerable amounts of money and two wireless sets. Materials handed to us by Rahmat Khan were highly appreciated in Berlin. The German Embassy in Kabul did not have any other channel of connection with Bose's followers in India.

By the beginning of 1942, the Germans started practical preparations for invading India. In February, Bhagat Ram was instructed to prepare and equip with all requisites the subversive groups which would be assigned first and foremost to disorganise work of ports along the whole sea coast of India, to arrange landing grounds for Japanese and German marines, to construct runways for aircraft of the German Air Force, to paralyze by acts of sabotage the defensive efforts of the British and to prepare the population for a rebellion against British rule.

In his next instruction letter from Berlin, Subhash Chandra Bose ordered:

1. Followers of Bhagat Ram are charged to send their representatives to areas contiguous with Afghanistan in order to persuade the tribes to rebel against the British authorities. The representatives should pledge to tribal chiefs to provide them with military equipment and to state that the programme of Free India envisages economic help to tribal population, their protection from enemy attacks and that nobody would encroach on

the independence and freedom of the tribes. The representatives should be authorised to make agreements with individual tribes.

Bose requested to be kept informed about the results of the negotiations with the tribes and to specifically indicate those tribes with whom agreements on joint action against the British authorities were proposed to be concluded.

2. To arrange a meeting with "Jamiat-al-Ulema" leaders, to convey to them Rashid al-Gilani's and the Mufti of Jerusalem's greetings, and to state that the time has come to stand up for the defence of Islam and the motherland, since, probably, there would be no other movement which might be so convenient for launching a struggle to liberate India from the British yoke. To ensure success of this struggle it is necessary to act jointly with Bose's followers.
3. To check the audibility of the two short-wave broadcasting stations stationed in Germany (in Berlin). Those stations were to create the impression as if they had made broadcasts from Indian territory.
4. To establish the location of the Germans who had been arrested in India and, according to Bose's information, had managed to escape, to get in touch with them and to enlist their cooperation in activities against the British authorities.

This letter, which also contains a long list of other instructions to Bhagat Ram, furnishes an idea of the large-scale subversive operations launched by Bose from Berlin. The Germans were undoubtedly very happy about this support on the part of Indians. Netaji was much favoured by hitlerites, the Fuehrer himself presented him with a golden cigarette-case decorated with diamonds. Bhagat Ram was also the object of attention. At a regular meeting with Bhagat Ram, Rasmus, a fixed-post German spy in Kabul, solemnly presented him with a German award. "Fuehrer is informed about you", confidentially said Rasmus to Bhagat Ram.

One can imagine the German fury should have they learnt that the greatly important subversive and intelligence work which had been carried through "Subhash Chandra Bose-Bhagat Ram" linkage had cost them so much efforts, material and financial means existed only on paper. The thing

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is that since middle of 1941 Bhagat Ram had been cooperating with the Soviet intelligence and simultaneously had been a highly secret agent of the British Intelligence Service. And all detailed reports of Rahmat Khan on political developments inside India, on the system of British defensive facilities in that country, on construction of secret airfields for landing of German aircraft, on preparation of terrorist groups, on the - promoted by him and by other followers of Bose - determination of the Indian masses to rise in national rebellion against the British rule as soon as the Germans appear in the Himalayan foothills - all those reports by the "extremely valuable agent of the German military intelligence" were, to put it bluntly, a sheer fraud, a fake, which secret services designate as "misinformation".

Bhagat Ram would receive Bose's instructions from Berlin (through Germans) and from Rasmus in Kabul, would leave for India through the zone of independent tribes, on having been lavishly supplied with directions, gold, money and espionage equipment, and then would return with reports on "accomplished work", prepared by Indian communists on the instructions of Moscow and by experts from MI-6, the British Intelligence. Since April 1942 the British had operated against German secret agents in Afghanistan in close cooperation with the Soviet intelligence.

Here, for example, is a letter sent by Colonel G.A. Hill, SIS representative in Moscow to his Russian colleague Colonel Osipov:

Most Secret

Moscow, 11th December, 1943.

Re: Bhagat Ram.

As you are aware, the Government of India has granted a safe-conduct to both Rasmus and Witzel of the German Embassy in Kabul who have been recalled by their Government to Germany. While their travelling arrangements will be subject to considerable delay, the disappearance of Witzel and Rasmus from Kabul scene has essentially altered the situation. The Government of India are by no means confident that Pilger will be able to handle Bhagat Ram without risk to the latter's safety.

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Therefore the Government of India advise against sending Bhagat Ram back at present. Subject to approval by your Departments concerned, India proposes to send an interim report by a special messenger which will reply to questions asked by Chandra Bose. The report will also include an assessment of the situation which is necessary to correct any impressions which may have been created in Berlin by the joint efforts of Witzel and Bhagat Ram to the effect that the Central Committee is prepared to bring about a general revolt in India in the near future.

I further beg to inform you that the Departments concerned in India have despatched a very long report dealing with various aspects of the Bhagat Ram affair. It is hoped that this report would reach Moscow about the 26th/30th of December when it will be immediately transmitted to you on receipt."

I would not go into details of this document. I shall only clarify that Witzel who is mentioned in the letter was also a staffer of the German Intelligence looking after Bhagat Ram.

Servant of four bosses

Bhagat Ram established contacts with Russian agents in Kabul seven months after he and Bose had knocked at the door of the German Embassy. During that time Bose had successfully reached Berlin and Bhagat Ram on the instructions of the Italian and German intelligence services had made a number of trips to India. But the main event occurred on the 22nd of June, 1941. That day Germany attacked the Soviet Union - the circumstances which, according to subsequent confessions of Bhagat Ram, actually compelled him to persistently search for contact with the Russians.

At first with the Chief of Russian agents in Kabul he told that he himself and his party Kisan Kirti, an advocate of communist ideology, were struggling against the British for a free and independent India. He informed that his elder brother, Ramhari Kishan, motivated by hatred towards the British had committed a terrorist act by assassinating the Government General of Punjab. For that he was hanged. His two other brothers - Jamna Rass and Isher Rass were persecuted by the colonial administration for revolutionary activities. However, today, proceeded Bhagat Ram with his story, fascist Germany became the main enemy of India and of the whole

progressive humanity. The mortal danger impending over the Soviet Union was also the mortal danger for India, since only the Soviet Union was able to help her in gaining independence. And Bhagat Ram offered his services to the Soviets, having informed that he enjoyed full confidence of the Germans and Italians. Thus he became a Soviet agent under the conspiratorial name of Ram.

Following several months Bhagat Ram made a request to the Chief of Soviet agents in Kabul that the Russians should inform the British about his secret services in favour of the USSR. He explained his request by stating that now it was very difficult to conduct underground activities in India and even more difficult to prepare information for the Germans which would look reliable, but at the same time would not cause any damage to the anti-Hitler coalition. The Russian side agreed to the proposal and thus Bhagat Ram became a servant of four bosses - the Italians, the Germans, the Russians and the British. Which of them was he loyal to and who was deceived by him? Undoubtedly, he deceived the Germans and the Italians. But what his game was in the case of the Russians and the British is a very complicated question, and in order to get a reply it is necessary to carry out meticulous research of the documents from intelligence archives of a minimum of five states - Italy, Germany, USSR, Great Britain and India.

However, we are interested not in Bhagat Ram, but in Subhash Chandra Bose. What on earth could take place? All his flaming passion of an Indian patriot, all his vibrant energy of an ardent revolutionary that Bose put into a dangerous, uncompromising fight with British oppressors. That was the main goal of his life. And when the World War started, he sided with Germany, Italy and Japan. He resolutely staked on the military defeat of the British. To see the freedom of his motherland he allied himself with fascists, believing that for the sake of a sacred cause one might make an alliance with the Devil himself, provided the Devil was willing to rout his enemies. From Berlin, the lair of Fascism, he conducted not only propagandistic and ideological war, but also armed struggle against the damned British. He conducted it leaning on Bhagat Ram who was the only agent through whom he was able to effectively and actively guide his supporters in India. And meanwhile his loyal and reliable assistant would handover Bose's messages to those damned British and would send to him in Berlin faked reports alleging that all India would be eager to receive her German and Japanese liberators

with outstretched arms. This means an entire failure of Bose's ambitions, of the titanic efforts by the Netaji and fascist secret services in the fight for India.

Thus Bhagat Ram betrayed Bose, betrayed his cause. Did he? Don't be hasty with conclusions. Staying in Berlin and subsequently - in Singapore and Tokyo, Bose conducted a struggle not against Great Britain. He fought against Germany and Japan.

(To be continued)

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"ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY"

(Issue No. 10/93)

"AGAINST WHOM SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE FOUGHT DURING WORLD WAR II"

In January 1954, KGB School N 101 received a new training aid. On the basis of comprehensive and well-documented materials which included secret agents' reports, cipher messages, letters, telegrams, radio intercepts and so on, that professionally compiled analytical survey revealed to a student how on the eve and during World War II the Nazi secret services had acted against the Soviet Union from Afghan territory, how and by what methods our security bodies had managed to neutralise subversive activities, to foil German plans aimed at creating in the Central Asian Republics a broad net of subversive groups, pro-fascist terrorist teams, secret stores of arms, secret addresses, radio stations, underground presses, bases for ideological, financial and technical support to agents of German military intelligence.

Along with this the survey, which served as a textbook for many a Soviet professional secret agent, tells about the vast plans for a German invasion of India and how the Germans tried to use Indian citizens, specifically Subhash Chandra Bose and Bhagat Ram, for those purposes.

The first chapter of this unusual textbook which reads as a thriller is titled "Advent of Indian politician Bose in Afghanistan and his transfer by German intelligence to Berlin". It briefly tells about the events already known to the reader from the previous issue of our magazine. The last sentence of that small chapter (it contains only 4 typed pages) is noteworthy :

"These are the outward circumstances of Bose's "disappearance" from India and his "unexpected" siding with fascist Germany". The words which I have marked in this quotation are placed in inverted commas by the author of the analytical survey. For the KGB, there was nothing mysterious and unexpected in Bose's disappearance from India. The thing is that the KGB knew very well who Bose was and why he found himself in Berlin.

KEY FIGURE - BHAGAT RAM

Perusing the documents from the KGB archives placed by the Russian Intelligence Service at the editors' disposal enables to draw an unexpected but, in my opinion, quite a well-grounded conclusion. Subhash

Chandra Bose collaborated with the British Intelligence Service. When and on what terms this started is a matter yet to be investigated. But his operating in contact with the British on the eve and during World War II is directly or indirectly confirmed by facts.

Let's start with indirect evidence. Could Subhash Chandra Bose escape on his own, without any outside aid at the very end of 1940? Probably, he could. He had enough followers in India to rely on their help. But subsequently in the wartime situation he traversed half the country, managed to get across the zone of Pushtun tribes, without a problem crossed the Indo-Afghan border and for nearly three months remained underground in Kabul, which at that time was full of British spies.

True, in all this he was receiving a lot of help from Bhagat Ram, a man who travelled all over India and had wide links in different strata of society. But it is exactly in connection with Bhagat Ram that the most serious suspicions arise as to how and why Bose found himself in Berlin. Bhagat Ram was among the most secret agents of the British Intelligence Service and he joined it not in spring of 1942, when he requested Russian intelligence to inform the British about him, but much earlier. The "legend" he presented to our intelligence officers at his recruiting sounded quite convincing. But its anti-British element seemed excessive. I would recall that one of Ram's brother was hung by colonial authorities and two other were severely prosecuted. He literally made a show of his deep hatred for the British. And such a man himself suggested cooperation with his enemies. He apparently was not embarrassed that by doing so he betrayed his friend and associate Subhash Chandra Bose and doomed to failure the course which both of them had devoted themselves to, the cause which was entrusted to them by their parties Forward Bloc and Kirti Kisan - to establish cooperation with fascist Germany in order to bring closer a British military defeat.

Thus, can one presume that they were concerned with something entirely different? Could they have

(or were given) some other task? Could they have not acted against the British, but jointly with them? If so, many points became clear. It is clear why Bose managed to escape so easily. It is clear why Bose and Ram managed to get to Kabul without a problem. At last it becomes clear why British colonial authorities kept silent for so long regarding Bose's escape. God forbid some ardent policeman or border guard would identify him and the whole plan would consequently be frustrated.

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BOSE'S "CONTRIBUTION" TO ANTI-BRITISH STRUGGLE

The above mentioned plan was very circumspect and very bold. Of course, I don't have this plan in my hands. But I believe its essence to be as follows. In the person of Bose, an influential Indian politician who enjoyed tremendous authority in his motherland, whose ~~cheap~~ anti British statements were widely known, the British introduced into the very heart of fascist Germany their man with a very reliable and convincing "legend". Through him they rapidly came to know about strategic and tactical German plans regarding India and the whole East, about military operations which were underway, about subversive activities and in general about the military and political conduct of the enemy. With his help (and with Bhagat Ram's active participation) they succeeded in neutralising persistent German attempts to create "a fifth column" in India ~~a~~ a wide network of secret and sabotage agents, to prepare a material and technical base for invading the sub continent from land and sea.

Indeed, let us consider what practical help was ~~given~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~fascist~~ ~~patrons~~, what concretely he contributed to that severe and uncompromising struggle which was so fiercely and with great losses conducted by Nazi Germany against Great Britain (of course, those losses are incomparable with the catastrophic ones suffered by Hitler at the eastern front in the war with Russia, but they were also seriously shattered the military and political foundations of the "Third Reich").

True, Bose set up in Berlin his organisation "Free India" on behalf of which he conducted anti-British radio propaganda. But who in India was able to hear programmes of the radio station whose transmitters were

located in Berlin? Bose would inquire from Bhagat Ram about the effectiveness of this work. The latter, having visited India on the instructions of German agents, would merrily report to his boss that the whole of India was sitting near radio receivers. We already know the real value of such reports. True, the Germans were happy with Bose's vigorous activities to develop an underground for espionage and sabotage in India, with his circumspect and careful preparing of a general revolt against the British. But all this was nothing but an "optical illusion", an illusion adroitly created by Soviet and British secret services.

True, Bose was knocking together an "Azad Hind Fauj" from Indian soldiers who had fought on the side of

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the allies and had been taken prisoners in Africa, Malaya and Burma. But that was a sham army, serving as an exotic decoration for the Netaji, and by no means a serious force.

True, Bose regularly sent from Berlin instructions and directives to his Indian supporters on executing concrete anti-British operations. But those instructions, with the help of radio interception, were received by the Allies who owing to the same Bhagat Ram had the German ciphers and took appropriate measures.

True, Bose passed on to his German friends comprehensive reports on the military and political situation in India. But as we know, this was skilfully prepared misinformation.

In such a case, what are the practical results of Netaji's anti-British operation during the Second World War? They equal almost to nil. A. Vinogradov in his article published in "Echo of the Planet" magazine and based on Indian sources also confirms this thought. "In fact, one cannot seriously talk about any military role of "Azad Hind Fauj" (of course, neither Indian sources, nor Vinogradov regard it as conceivable that Bose cooperated with the British)

Could it be that Bose did not know anything about all this? Could he be unaware of an artfully designed net of lies and fraud which those cunning British jointly with Russians wound round him? Could it be that he didn't dare to think about Bhagat Ram's treason as a result of which his "selfless struggle" with Great Britain resembled a fight with a shadow? But he had sufficient opportunities to cross-check Bhagat Ram's messages and reports. He did have a great number of reliable communication channels with them bypassing Kabul. As far as I know he did not do that. Why?

When in spring 1943 Bose shifted to Japan there too he was more engaged in what we term window-dressing. His Army "an object of his pride - "Azad Hind Fauj" often marched barefoot, let alone with arms. But Netaji, having announced himself Head of State and Prime Minister of "Free India", as well as Defence Minister and Foreign Minister surrounded himself with an 'exorbitant suite, adjutants and servants.

I am by no means being ironical. If I correctly understand this great man, Subhash Chandra Bose had to put on the mask of an Oriental Padishah in order to make himself look important and significant in the eyes of his new bosses, the Japanese, if not by concrete activities in the struggle for the liberation of India.

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That was required to make the Japanese, as the Germans, trust him and share their plans with him.

In early 1944 the Japanese and Bose's troops embarked upon an obviously venturesome march to the North-East of India. Their goal was to seize cities of Imphal. But the British shattered the attackers. And when General Kawabe, following Prime Minister Todzio's instructions, hesitating to be utterly desperate he proposed to engage in combat.., no, not his personal "guards" consisting of 500 crack "kamikazes", but a female regiment, which provided laundry services for his soldiers.

And how should one understand the following instruction, transmitted by Bose to his followers (radio intercept of 29 January 1944): "Our teams in India must keep in mind that revolution in India should not start till we ("Azad Hind Fauj" and Japanese units - V.T.) have forced a crossing over the Brahmaputra and march to Calcutta". Didn't Bose understand that the attack at Imphal were it to be supported by an anti-British revolt in the rear, would have much more chance of success? Did he want that success and did he believe (and want!) that his "Azad Hind Fauj", supported by Japanese bayonets, reach the banks of the great Indian river Brahmaputra?

"TOM" SECURES BOSE'S COMMUNICATION WITH LONDON

Yes, I understand that all this is indirect evidence liable to different interpretations. Though taken together and set in a logical chain, they seem to me to speak in favour of my version, especially that self-evident fact that Bose's friend and associate Bhagat Ram was a professional British secret agent.

However, there are more weighty arguments. I have in front of me a report by a Soviet agent in Great Britain on the conference of the Secret Intelligence Service staffers which was held on the 12th of March 1943 in Oxford. It, inter-alia, informs that "at present Bose is on a German submarine en route to Japan". Indeed, as early as in 1942 the German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop agreed with the Japanese that Bose would be taken across to South East Asia. That became known from German archives after the war. The operation was executed in strict secrecy. Somehow in the region of South Africa, Bose at great risk to himself, was transferred from the German submarine to a Japanese one. Even the captains of the two submarines did not know the

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name of the mysterious passenger. How come that the British learnt about that in detail and so rapidly; the conference was taking place when Bose was travelling on the German submarine.

Could Bhagat Ram have informed them? Undoubtedly - no. It was beyond his range. And even if he had learnt something he would have immediately informed the Soviet intelligence, since that was envisaged by the procedure established in Kabul.

How then did top secret information fall into the hands of the British? There are solid grounds to suggest that they were handed over by Bose himself.

Here is another document, which is so important that I am providing a full translation.

"Top Secret"

"Zaman"
6 July 1944

Details of "Rom's"
Stay in Kabul from 1 - 24 May 1944

'Rom' arrived in Kabul on 1st May and appeared before the control check on the same day and had a meeting with him in the evening. To the question why he came late, 'Rom' answered that he took off from Delhi on 13 April and should have arrived in Kabul not later than 22 April, but was held up in a tribal territory because of the ailment of "Sang", and was forced to leave him behind there and then had to take Guliyam-ur-Rehman, a Communist working there on a mission of the Communist Party of India.

Guliyam-ur-Rehman had never been to Afghanistan earlier. Later 'Rom' handed over the copy of misinformation which was compiled by the British and was meant for the Germans. Also enclosed was a legend on a paper compiled also by the British as a guide with the help of which 'Rom' was to inform the Japanese about the fate of the nine agents sent to India. Besides, 'Rom' handed over to me his brother's photograph, about whom he had mentioned during the last visit and whom he also wanted to use to keep contact with us through the Germans and the Japanese.

I asked 'Rom', what was the reason for his long absence. 'Rom' explained that he was very much needed in India and only after the British established radio link with 'Tom' (Berlin) and 'Oliver' (Kabul) they and 'Rom' decided that there was no special necessity for a visit to Kabul. However, two months ago, Moscow

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requested that 'Rom' be sent to Kabul, for which the Head of the British Intelligence Jenkin, replied that 'Rom' was very much required for conducting a number of operations against the Japanese. After that Moscow requested to specify these operations. Then Jenkin decided to send "Rom" to Kabul more so since the British wanted to unravel the strange behaviour of "Tom" and "Oliver" who displayed strange indifference towards their work and did not issue instructions or give answers to queries.

Then according to "Rom", Jenkin developed suspicion as to whether the Germans could guess the nature of 'Rom's' work or not. This suspicion was further reinforced by the Japanese having sent their agent to India in submarines, without any prior warning through 'Rom' and despite the fact that during the last year in December the British informed 'Tom' the addresses, to be conveyed to Bose. Concerning this business i.e. sending of Japanese agents, 'Rom' was assigned to explain to the Germans and the Japanese that he was informed about it through his own people ('Rom' should be instructed with the afore mentioned legend compiled by the British and the copy of which he handed over to us and which is enclosed)".

First of all - a few clarifications. "Zaman" - the Soviet spy Mikhail Alexandrovich Alakhverdov, who worked with Bhagat Ram, mentioned in the reports as "Rom".

Jenkin represented Secret Intelligence Service in Kabul. He maintained during the war, working contacts with our special agencies.

And now once again read carefully the report by "Zaman". From this report it is clearly understood that the British sent their wireless operator to Berlin under the code name "Tom" who provided them with an operative and independent radio link to Bose. Taking all factors into account, it is precisely through "Tom", that Bose could inform London about his departure in a submarine for Japan.

The Secret of Bose is Preserved in the British Archives

If my version that Subhash Chandra Bose had cooperated neither with the Germans nor with the Japanese during the Second World War but with the British proves to be correct than what does it all mean?

First of all it means a great success for the British Secret Service which got very important information through Bose about its opponent and with his help they could neutralise the dangerous plans of the

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German fascists and Japanese military relating to India.

Regarding Bose himself, the facts which emerge (if of course they are reliable facts; and how can't we have room for suspicion in such an archivally complicated affairs in which the special agencies of the greatest international super powers were involved?) force us to review this legendary personality. To my mind they supplement his mystic image of halo of martyrdom and heroism. But was it in fact easy for him who devoted all his life to the struggle against the British colonialism, to cooperate with the British? At the same turbulent time he apparently realised that fascism had become the major enemy of the entire humanity, including his beloved India.

Of course, it would have been the greatest agent. If he had gone for cooperation with the colonisers it would have been only due to ideological convictions, in the name of achieving the highest humanitarian task of saving humanity from the brown plague.

However, am I too hasty in my conclusions? Because it is still necessary to confirm the revealing circumstances once again about the mysterious period of life of Subhash Chandra Bose and strengthen it with new facts, documents and investigations.

Much, much more still remains unclear. The main secret and all details, but very important details, are kept from the public in the British Archives. Though it is important to say frankly that London does not have a monopoly in terms of being a repository of secrets about Bose. In those materials received by our Editorial Board, particularly the KGB training aid, only little has been reflected about Bose. I think we can find a lot of interesting material if we dig well into the archives of this agency. "Great Britain never had any secrets which were not known to Russians, so effective was the spying by their agents in our country" says John Costello, an English historian who is engaged in the active study of archive materials which expose the secrets of special agencies, thanks to the new policy of Glasnost in Russia.

Costello is right. In Britain at the heart of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Secret Intelligence Service, there was a brilliant team of five Soviet agents called the "Cambridge Group". Kim Philby, Donald McLean, Guy Burgess, Antony Blunt. At least since the mid 30s, this team supplied very valuable secret information to Moscow. Recently it has become known

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that in parallel with this "team of five" was another important "Oxford Group" headed by a graduate of Eton College, known as Scot, whose identity has not yet been established, which also worked for the Soviets. I think the report on the meeting of SIS which was held on 12 March 1943 in Oxford, which I quoted above, was received in Moscow through this group.

As we see, the information of the KGB about who and why organised Bose's mission to Berlin, later to Tokyo, is that the Indian public is right to demand from London the publication of the secretly kept archival material, which may re-establish the whole truth about Subhash Chandra Bose. It is important to disperse legends and mysticism linked with this name. And there is a lot of

... .. some and in their gatherings they pray to his spirit for strengthening their will power. This was recently reported on Russian television.

Subhash Chandra Bose - is he an idol of fascists ? But this is nonsense. A person with high human ideals could not have failed to observe what fascism means in practice. Yes, he approved of the order and discipline which reigned in Germany. However he approved only of order and discipline, without which not a single human community can function normally but never approved fascist methods of implementation. Violence against individuals as well as racism preached by the fascists, and their hatred of humanity were strongly alien to that man with strong democratic convictions along the lines of Vivekananda's teachings and paternal traditions of Hinduism, high moral ideals of socialists - Utopists. If he had recognised violent methods as justified then it was exclusively in the struggle against colonialism,

The Archives, currently preserved in Britain, should give a reply about what Bose had done in Berlin and Tokyo, whether he made friendship with the fascists or led a secret but heroic war against them.

In that case, we can put a stop and close the history of his mysterious death. However, A. Raikov has portrayed an exhaustive and convincing picture about the circumstances in which this outstanding political leader of India passed away in issue No. 8 of our magazine.

I just add to what the Professor had written. Subhash Chandra Bose appealed to the Soviet Embassy in Japan for support. Here follows his letter (with English translation) as preserved in KGB archives.

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BARZILUKUNATE AZAD HIND
INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA

Imperial Hotel, Tokyo
Monday, 20 November 1944

To

His Excellency,
Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo

Your Excellency,

Being in Tokyo, I would very much want to call on Your Excellency. Having this in mind, I set as my objective my objective to seek the support of the Soviet Government, through Your Excellency, in India's struggle for its independence.

2. The fact that we are closely linked with the Axis Powers in the common struggle against Anglo-Americans does not stop me. I am happy to state that the Axis Powers have a clear view about the peculiarities of the problems of India and that they have kindly granted formal recognition to the Interim Government of Azad Hind (Free India), for which we are grateful. Besides Japan, whose relations with the Soviet Government are of a strictly neutral character, even the German Government has fully understood our stand and fully appreciated the fact that we, Indians, are interested only in actions against Britain and America. The German Government also understood and appreciated the fact that we are not interested in actions against Soviet Russia. In fact, the activities of my organization in Europe are exclusively against the British and Americans but not against Soviet Russia. This was the basis for our cooperation with the Axis Powers in Europe and in this connection we have complete understanding and approval from the German Government and the Fascist Italian Government.

3. I am aware of the fact that there exists at present a union between the Soviet Government and the Government of Britain and USA. However, I have a fair knowledge about international politics to understand that this union cannot restrict the Soviet Government in extending support to our struggle for independence. I recall, with great pleasure, the help extended to me by the Soviet Government when I left India in 1941. I conveyed my profound gratitude to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Molotov in a letter sent from Berlin, which I hope, would have been duly received by His Excellency. I was also inspired by the fact that Lenin had

-11-

their independence. As far as I am aware even after the demise of Lenin, the Soviet Government has not altered its policy towards the problems of the colonial countries, including India

5. Regarding my Party - Forward Bloc- I can say that at a time, when Soviet foreign policy in Europe was deplored by all parties in India during 1939-40, we were the ones, who publicly supported the Soviet foreign policy towards Germany and Finland. Moreover, we consist of the Left Wing of the national movement in India and stick to the most progressive views on socio-economic problems. Besides, on date our party is the only party in India, which leads an uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, in cooperation with a few other revolutionary groups.

6. I would very much like to call on Your Excellency and seek the Soviet Government's assistance through Your Excellency for our struggle for independence. As regards the nature of help which the Soviet Government may like to render us this should be decided by the Soviet Government in connection with the prevailing war situation. I would only like to add that we are fully determined to make India completely free and the Governments which have recognised the Interim Government of Free India unconditionally agree with us on this issue.

Let me assure, Your Excellency, of my highest consideration and I await your early reply.

With regards,

Subhash Chandra Bose

There is a covering note to this letter from the Commissar in the State Security Department A. Langfang which was addressed to the head of the 5th Department of NKVD, Col. A. Otroshenko:

" I am directing a copy of a letter (translation) from Bose, which was sent by him to the Ambassador of USSR in Japan, Mr. Y. Malik on 3rd January 1945".

Bose's appeal to the USSR Embassy remained ineffective. Why? Apparently because the Soviet security agencies, having been informed that Bose was secretly cooperating with British Secret Services, did not want to complicate relations with their allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. May be, they had different friendship of the CPSU with the Communist Party of India.

Finally, one more document available from the archives of KGB :

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112/15

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"CERTIFICATE"

After the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1945, TASS quoting British sources informed from Tokyo that Subhash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan, died.

Deputy Head of IIIrd section of the Vth dept.
1st Directorate of NKVD of USSR
Lt. Col. Nabatnikov
23.12.1945

For KGB, Bose's case was closed.

X



AMBASSADOR

1841/JS(AP)/97
26/5

~~SECRET~~

1612/Dm(AP) 27
26/5

8/264/APA/84
31/5

भारत का राजदूतावास, टोकियो
Embassy of India,
2-11. Kudan-Minami 2-chome,
Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102
Telex: 2324886 INDEMB J
Phone: 03(3262)2391
Fax: 03(3234)4866

No. TOK/102/2/92

May 19, 1994

Dear Ranjit,

You are perhaps aware of the issue of the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's ashes and the long and protracted correspondence over decades in regard to transferring the ashes from Tokyo to India. Our last letter to your predecessor was on June 1, 1993, to which response is still awaited.

Mr. Ashish Ray, a grand nephew of the Netaji, and currently CNN Bureau Chief in Delhi, made a visit to Tokyo last month to pursue the matter in the context of the forthcoming centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

He had a couple of meetings with me. His main purpose was to see if anything could be done to make a decision in Delhi easier in regard to the transfer of the ashes. According to him, the most important thing was to convince some of Netaji's remaining relatives that Netaji had indeed died in the air crash and that the ashes which have been kept in an urn in Tokyo are indeed Netaji's ashes. For this purpose, I briefed him on all the connected issues and expressed my hope that he would be able to convince the relatives of Netaji and perhaps the political leadership in Bengal, about the genuineness of the ashes so that this chapter can be closed once and for all by transferring the ashes to India and providing an honourable place for it.

Mr. Ray also visited the temple where the ashes are kept and talked to the temple authorities. The temple authorities' repeated arguments were the same that they had been giving us for transferring the ashes.

According to Mr. Ray, one possible way of establishing the genuineness of the ashes is the report that he had received from the son of Netaji's ADC Rehman that the gold tooth of Netaji was part of the ashes which have been sealed in the urn here. He felt that if it is possible to get the urn xrayed to establish the existence of Netaji's tooth, that would go a long way in convincing his relatives. He also wondered whether it might not be possible for the Japanese Government to issue a statement or letter that would indicate that in their view the death certificate issued in the name of a Japanese by the Taiwanese authorities was indeed the one that related to Netaji. He had a meeting with Mr. Tanizaki, Director in the Gaimusho, where he broached these points.

Submitted
31/5
DS/AP

Received today
15/6
Dis (AP): my hully me

I told Mr. Ray that as far as we are concerned, we believe that this is indeed Netaji's ashes, on the basis of a lot of evidence that is on our files. We also believe that with the rapidly dwindling crop of Netaji's contemporaries, we would find nobody to preserve and look after the ashes in Japan and that an early decision is necessary from Delhi for the transfer of the ashes to India. I told him that I would be prepared to suitably approach the Japanese Government provided we have some assurance from official circles in Delhi that such a certificate or letter from the Japanese Government would be followed by a decision to get the ashes removed to India. Mr. Ray said that he would pursue this matter with the concerned Ministries when he goes back.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(Prakash Shah)

Shri R.S. Kalha
Joint Secretary (AP)
Ministry of External Affairs
NEW DELHI

2731/Secy (E) 94
14/6
9381/AM
13/8/94
1261/MORARJI DESAI
13/6
2107/Secy (E) 94
14/6
89
Pro **Samar Guha**
Former
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



8/2, CENTRAL PARK,
CALCUTTA-700 032
PHONE : 72-1600
27 May 1994

Dear Shri Bhatia,

I have seen your answer given on 11th May 1994 to the question about 'Ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. In your answer it has been said that 'The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remained divided. The Govt. of India is of the view that bringing the ashes back to India in absence of a consensus on the issue might prove divisive and create tensions.'

I want to draw your attention that the main issue is not about 'emotion' or about 'consensus' regarding the issue of Netaji's ashes. The main issue is - whether it has been ^{proved} in all certainty that Netaji really died after an alleged aircrash at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945 and whether the ashes kept in the Renkoji temple in Tokyo are that of Netaji.

According to the documents produced by the Govt. of Japan before Shah Nawaz Committee, and, thereafter, before Khosla Commission, the ashes kept in the Renkoji temple are that of a 'non-regular Japanese soldier' - Ichiro Okura.

In reply to a motion in Lok Sabha moved by me on Sept 3, 1978, Shri Morarji Desai Govt. categorically disapproved the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission, - thus, reopening the main question about the question of Netaji's death in the alleged aircrash at Taihoku.

On 11th May 1979, in reply to a question asking for bringing the alleged ashes of Netaji kept in the Renkoji temple, the then Minister of State, Home Affairs, Shri Dhaniklal Mandal informed Lok Sabha, "In the light of reasonable doubts cast on correctness of conclusion reached in two inquiry reports on death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the Govt. find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. It will, therefore, not be possible to take action at present on the suggestion of Genl. Fujiwara" to bring the alleged ashes to India.

But your reply has not taken this answer into consideration. The answer given by you created an impression that though findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission have been accepted

pl. link & p. on file immediately

Kan. Ratanmala

by the Govt, # Yet, because of lack of consensus it is not desirable on issue of 'divided emotion' to bring the ## ashes to India.

I want to draw your attention that after the statement made by Shri Morarji Desai in disapproving the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission it is a legal, moral and patriotic duty to undertake an investigative inquiry to reach a final conclusion, - whether Netaji died after the alleged Taihoku aircrash and whether the ashes kept in the Renkoji temple are that of Netaji.

Only after such a renewed investigation the Govt. can take decision whether the ashes kept in Renkoji temple should be brought to India or not.

Before concluding my letter, I want again to draw your attention that on direct advice by the former President of India, Shri R.Venkatraman, Shri V.P.Singh of the Janata Dal Govt. agreed to take up the issue of an investigative inquiry about Netaji and finally, on advice from the President again, the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar took up Investigative Inquiry and the Minister of State, External Affairs, Shri Digvijay Singh, in his letter informed me on 26.3.91 that he had "already initiated a high level investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose" and assured me that "we shall keep you informed of any further development".

After formation of the Govt. of Shri Narasimha Rao, I have taken up the matter with Shri Dinesh Singh, when he very patriotically wrote to me that 'everything possible will be done to finally settle the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'.

I hope you will seriously take up the matter for continuing the investigation that was started by your predecessor of the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar in consultation with the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Dinesh Singh.

I believe you will feel that our future generation will curse us if you fail to finally resolve the issue, - what really happened to the Maha Kshatriya of Indian National Liberation, - Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am sending a booklet of mine entitled 'Country Must Know, What Really Happened To Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. In spite of your various involvement in Govt. activities, I would earnestly request you to carefully go through this booklet, which is based on facts brought out before the two inquiries. I have also written a documentary book

'Netaji - Dead or Alive ?' - covering about 330 pages. It was scrutinisingly examined by the Law Ministry of the Morarji Govt.

If you want this book to find out the documents, why it is persistently claimed that the death report of Netaji at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945 is nothing but a #'master deception plan' according to the investigation made by the CSDIC of the Govt. of UK, I will be glad to send a copy of the book to you. The book is also available in the Parliament Library.

I would again request you to give serious consideration to finally resolve the issue about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With good wishes and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

Shri R.L.Bhatia
Minister of State - External Affairs
141 South Bloc
New Delhi 110011

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COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

—Samar Guha



COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

What really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ? Did he really meet his end in an aircrash at Taihoku in Formosa, on August 18, 1945 ? The news of his alleged accident was broadcast not in the form of any official communique either by the civil or the military authority of Japan. Japan was not yet occupied by the US Army, - its civil and military authority remained in tact. It was the news of the Domai Agency which was broadcast by the Tokyo Radio. In its first broadcast, 5 days after the alleged aircrash, it was said that the dead body of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, was flown to Tokyo. But subsequently in another broadcast it was reported that his body was cremated in Formose.

Palpably, the broadcast appeared as nothing but a cooked-up story as it was not substantiated by any positive testimonials or documents. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India at that time, believed this news broadcast as true. Mahatma Gandhi along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya wired Bose family at Calcutta, 'Not to perform sradh ceremony, but to hold mild prayer.' Lord Wavell recorded his reaction in his 'Diary', 'I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an aircrash is true. I suspect it very much. It was just what should be given out if he wanted to go underground.' No Government, either of Japan or Wavell nor of the U.K. or the USA at that time or anytime thereafter officially confirmed the report of death of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Gandhiji believed - 'Subhas is Alive'

Gandhiji went on telling the Indian people that he didn't believe Netaji's death news. On 30 Dec 1945 he told us, the Bengal Detenuess, most of whom were the colleagues and associates of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in Dum Dum Jail of Calcutta : 'If someone shows me ashes even then I will not believe that Subhas is not alive. He is alive, - hiding somewhere'. He spoke in Hindi and remained with us for over an hour. Next day, on January 2nd, 1946, he told the press at Contai of Bengal : 'I believe Netaji is alive. He is hiding somewhere.' Gandhiji repeated his belief many times afterwards. After meeting Col. Habibur Rahman in the Red Fort Cell, who claimed to be the lone Indian who travelled with Netaji in the same plane that allegedly crashed, Gandhiji said 'Habib ! whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe Netaji is alive.' Later Gandhi told pressmen : 'Habibur Rahman made a soldier's statement to me.'

Why Gandhiji was so insistant to disbelieve the Japanese report of Netaji's aircrash death ? Was it because of his 'inner voice' ? Many revealing facts came to be known 10 years later which positively indicated why Gandhiji said so. In 1991 an American document found in the archives of the Princeton University positively revealed why Gandhiji believed that 'Subhas is hiding somewhere'.

Reaction of the British Government

What was the further reaction of Lord Wavell, India's Viceroy in 1945-46 ? A month after the record of his first reaction he noted again in his 'Diary' : 'According to the Japanese of Signapore, Subhas Chandra Bose is definitely dead, but I shall be skeptical till further confirmation.'

After hearing the Japanese broadcast on August 23, 1945, Lord Wavell immediately sent a mixed investigating team of the British and Indian experts to 'arrest Bose - dead or alive' and make a thorough probe into the whole affairs behind the Japanese story of Bose's death.

What was the findings of this Wavell team was not fully reported. But the British Govt. of India cryptically leaked out to the press that Bose died in the reported aircrash. However, what was the exact view of the Wavell Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose, was secretly despatched to the Attlee Govt. in UK after 67 days of the reported aircrash by its Home Secretary, Mr. R.F.Mudie. It was marked 'Top Secret' and this report was published 30 years after in 'Volume VI' of the British document 'Transfer of Power, 1942-47'. In his lengthy report on Bose Mr. Mudie's confidential despatch noted inter-alia as regard the 'treatment of Bose' these were the following possibilities :

- a) Bringing back to India and try him either for waging War or under the Enemy Agent Ordinance ;
- b) Have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malay for waging War against the King in that country ;
- c) Have him tried by a Military Court outside India ;
- d) Intern him in India ;
- e) Intern him in some other British possessions, e.g., Seychelles islands;
- f) Leave him where he is and not ask for the surrender.'

After analyzing all the eventualities about these alternatives the report concluded '**in many ways the easiest course will be to live him where he is and not ask for his release. Of course, he might in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulty.**'

Neither the Wavell Govt. of India nor the Attlee Govt. of U.K., after coming to the above conclusion, made any official confirmation about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose, though he was marked as the enemy number one of their Indian Empire. They deliberately kept silent about the report of Subhas Bose's presence in Russia.

Pandit Nehru's Preverification

Everybody in India in 1945-46 disbelieved the Toyko story of Netaji's death. Moulana Azad, the then President of the Congress declined to make any obituary reference in memory of Bose in the first AICC Session held at Bombay on Sept. 23, 1945 after the Quit India Movement, saying, 'The circumstances in which the news of the death of Bose has reached us and the sources responsible for announcement don't make certain that Bose is in fact dead.'

An American journalist of Chicago Tribune, Alfred Wag, told Pandit Nehru on August

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29, 1945 in Delhi that after the Japanese broadcast 'Bose was alive and seen 4 days ago in Saigon'. On Sept 11, 1945 Nehru himself told API at Jhansi, **'Like many other people, he did not believe the story about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose... I have received a number of reports, which have raised me in great doubt and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news'**.

Every patriotic Indian expected that after coming into power on August 15, 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Free India, would consider it as his first national duty to institute a high level investigation to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But he was found contrarily to adopt an unthinkable attitude of deliberate refusal to entertain any request for any inquiry about Netaji. Why after his own public statement that he disbelieved the news of Subhas Chandra Bose's death Pandit Nehru made a strange volte-face to adopt a completely reversed attitude ?

The answer to it can be found in the article of a former Editor of the Gujrati daily 'Janmabhumi' late Amritlal Seth, who accompanied Pandit Nehru, when he visited Singapore in 1946 as the guest of Admiral Mountbatten. Further evidence came from the text of the 'Nehru Oration' by Mountbatten. Shri Seth informed Sarat Chandra Bose immediately after coming back to India from Singapore, that **Mountbatten warned Nehru that, 'If he played up Bose and his INA he will be taking the risk of presenting India on a platter to Bose when he returned back to India'**. Yes, Panditji started to instantly comply with the advice of Mountbatten from Singapore itself. He shockingly cancelled his already agreed programme to place a wreath at the spot of the INA Memorial that was demolished by the British Army soon after reoccupation of Singapore. Returning home from Singapore Pandit Nehru was found to shut his mouth completely about anything that concerned Netaji and his INA.

Inquiry by Shah Nawaz Committee

After coming to power as the Prime Minister of Free India, Pandit Nehru, adopted a policy of abject indifference and negligence, nay a covert opposition to everything about Netaji and his heroic legends. Pandit Nehru's worst stance was his stubborn opposition to all requests and appeals made in the Parliament and outside for instituting a judicial inquiry about disappearance of Netaji. For 10 years he turned down all such appeals. But when the citizens of Calcutta decided to set up a non-official inquiry committee in 1956 with Dr. Radha Binode Pal, an internationally reputed jurist of the eminence of Tokyo Trial as its Chairman, Pandit Nehru suddenly announced to form an inquiry committee with Shah Nawaz Khan as its Chairman having no judicial status for the inquiry. But strangely, when even such a 'statement-collecting-committee' was conducting inquiry, Panditji forestalled the very objective of its inquiry by making a statement in the Parliament in which he said : **'I have no doubt today of the fact of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death, is, I think settled beyond doubt'**.

How could Shah Nawaz Committee dare to unsettle this 'Settled fact beyond doubt' of Pandit Nehru ? This inquiry, this, queerly concluded in its findings : 'At no stage was the casket containing the ashes sealed, no formal receipt issued, nor again continuous watch kept over it. So, although there cannot be absolute certainty about it, nevertheless, ashes kept in the Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. If ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot be obviously the final resting place.' What an absurd findings! Can the issue of death of a man like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose be confirmed by not being 'absolutely certain', but by questioning it with 'if' ?

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Shah Nawaz Committee, however, helped to have access to some very vital documents that were kept secret for 10 years after 1947. **These documents showed that according to the intelligence report, in all probability, Netaji took shelter in Soviet Russia under the cover of a cooked-up story of his death. These documents also indicated that Gandhiji and Panditji received a letter from Netaji asking Nehru for making arrangement for his repatriation to India. Particular imports of these documents will be discussed later. But it should be mentioned here that Pandit Nehru suppressed all the vital intelligence reports from the public till 1956.**

In 1951 Panditji had sent S.A.Ayer, a former Publicity Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Govt., to Tokyo to secretly contact Col. Tada to ascertain from him the report about Netaji's death. Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada, were attached to the Japanese wartime Military Headquarters at Saigon. They were the two high ranking Japanese officers who were deputed to prepare and execute the escape-plan of Netaji by Field Marshall Terauchi, highest in command of the S.E.Asia Jap Army. In his confidential report to Nehru, Ayer stated : **'This time I could gather very important information. Col. Tada told me that after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory – all help will be given to him.'**

In his statement in Lok Sabha, Panditji mentioned other parts of Ayer's confidential report to him which appeared to lend support to Tokyo broadcast, but this vital part was withheld from the House.

Pandit Nehru's conscience, however, appeared to prick during the last few month before he passed away. Although he repeatedly stated in the Parliament that 'Netaji's death was a settled fact beyond doubt' he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji on May 13, 1962 in reply to his letter that **'You asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I can't send you any precise and direct proof.....'** Again just about a month before his death replying to a letter from Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, Panditji wrote : **'I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death.'** Ah ! When it was the time for proper investigation, Nehruji deliberately stalled it !

Confusing Japanese Documents

Japan is the only country which could definitely say or unsay if the report of the plane crash was true. Some documents and information placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee by the Japanese authority revealed a few vital facts :

Firstly, Japan didn't officially make any statement either by its civil or military authority to confirm the report of plane crash on August 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Domai News Agency, a private body, made it over the Tokyo Radio. Later S.A.Ayer, in course of his deposition before Shah Nawaz Committee, told that on request from the Japanese authority at Tokyo, the text of the broadcast was prepared by him and not either by the Japanese Govt. or the Domai News Agency.

Secondly, the plane which reportedly crashed carried 13/14 passengers of which the Pilot, Co-pilot, Radio Engineer, Genl. Shedei, Netaji, — these five persons, who were required to fly to Dairen, reportedly died whereas all the other passengers miraculously survived with minor injuries, although the plane was reported to have had nose-dived, caught instant fire and broke into two parts. Non-Official, Japanese Expert Committee contradicted such a report as 'absurd'. After vertical nose-dive crash of

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a burning plane from a sufficient altitude such selective survivals and selective killings were unthinkable according to their findings.

Thirdly, Japanese authority produced three – four photographs – first one of bandaged Habibur Rahman sitting by the side of a casket, second one of an urn reportedly carrying the ashes of Bose and the third one of a canvas-covered bundle marked as containing the alleged death body of Bose. If the Japanese could take trouble of getting four photographs why another photograph of uncovered body of Bose could not be taken if such a body existed at all ? **An uncovered body of Bose would have convinced each and everybody of India and of the Anglo-American Power that Bose really died in the aircrash. One such single photograph could have settled all doubts and all controversies about the report of Bose's death.** Japanese authority failed to answer convincingly why they could not take a photograph of uncovered body of Bose if he really died.

Fourthly, Japanese Foreign Ministry submitted a cremation certificate of Bose issued by the Taihoku Municipality. It was written in Japanese script. On rendering this certificate into English it was strangely found that it was issued for a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who died of heart failure. Okura's age, the cause and date of his death and cremation, – **nothing tallied with the report of the Tokyo broadcast about 'Chandra Bose.'**

Fifthly, although it was stated that Genl. Shedei also died at Taihoku on the same date as a result of the aircrash, but his pension certificate showed that he died in the warfield. Genl. Shedei was appointed to command Japanese Kwantang Army in Manchuria after Russia attacked this Jap territory. Japanese could not produce any record of death and cremation certificate of Genl. Shedei supporting his death at Taihoku.

These few Japanese documents left rather indicative clues to infer that the report of aircrash was just a cooked-up story to cover Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia.

Futile Khosla Commission

Though the Indian people didn't accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Panditji himself also agreed that 'something should be done to finalize the question of Netaji's death' - nothing was done by the Govt. till 1967. In this year about 350 members of Parliament belonging to all parties signed a memorandum and submitted it to the Central Govt. urging for a fresh judicial inquiry about Netaji. In no time before, such a memorandum was ever signed by the majority members of the Parliament for submitting to the Govt. for a national cause. However, it took over two years' persistent agitation to make the Govt. of India agree to set up on July 11, 1970 a 'one-man judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose,' A retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court was appointed its Chairman. After 4 years of unnecessarily prolonged sittings of the Commission, Justice Khosla submitted his report to the Govt. on June 30, 1974. Khosla Commission's Report appeared just as a chimera of a judicial findings, - worse than the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee. Mr. Khosla made no effort to search for national and international documents connected with the Netaji affairs, made no analysis of the Japanese documents produced before the Commission, brushed aside the evidence of the 84 Indian witnesses giving cursory attention to them while devoting his attention mainly on the evidence of five Japanese witnesses claiming as co-passengers of Netaji and the fifth one of a doctor, who said to have treated

injured Bose. Though none of them could produce any document to verify their identities, statements and claims. Mr. Khosla treated them as 'truthful witnesses' to draw his conclusion exclusively on their evidence that Bose died after the reported aircrash.

Worst still, Mr. Khosla exceeded all his limits in making political commentary in unbelievably derogatory terms by calling Netaji a 'Puppet', a 'Pawn', a 'Quisling' of Japan, etc. in his report. In his report atleast in 27 places he made outrageous remarks denigrating the revolutionary personality of Netaji. This man, violating all judicial norms, was seen to bring a 'present' for Mrs. Indira Gandhi while returning from Taiwan and write her biography while working as the Chairman of the Commission. Further, before his report was placed on the table of Lok Sabha he published a book calling it 'Last Days of Netaji'. Mr. Khosla was severely indicted by the Calcutta High Court for his derogatory remarks about Netaji. He also faced a Privilege Motion in Lok Sabha for violating the terms of the Inquiry Commission. But he somehow escaped harsh punishments by offering unconditional apology to the High Court and the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Thus, because of his tendentious behaviour of the Chairman of the Netaji Inquiry Commission, the judicial and moral basis of his findings were vitiated in such a way that its whole objective was completely frustrated.

Findings Rejected by the Morarji Govt.

Because of the sudden imposition of Emergency in June 1975 and arrest of Opposition leaders, including the present writer, the report of Khosla Commission was debated in Lok Sabha as late as in 1978 after the formation of the Janata Govt. A documentary book, 'Netaji - Dead or Alive ?' written by the writer was released by the then President of India Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy. The long debate and the documentary materials published in the book convinced a man of very rigid outlook like Shri Morarji Desai, that the two inquiries about Netaji failed to serve the purpose of the investigation. In reply to the debate, Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai said in a statement in Lok Sabha on Sept 3, 1978 :

'Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive.'

It was very vital statement. Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting Khosla Commission in 1970. And now in 1978 Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the inquiries to reopen the issue of disappearance of Netaji. It now, consequently, devolved on the Morarji Govt. to find out, - then, what really happened to Netaji ? Morarjibhai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' in an effort to resolve the Netaji issue as he felt that after so many years any further judicial inquiry would not serve the main purpose. But before his suggestion could be materialized the Janata Govt. fell.

Decision of Investigative Inquiry by the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

The whole issue of renewal of Netaji inquiry remained muted for about 10 years. After formation of the Janata Dal Govt. the issue was taken up with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh, who asked his Minister of External Affairs, Shri I.K.Gujral to 'look into the matter'. But before any step could be taken, V.P.Singh Govt. had to quit. The matter was again taken up with the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. In both these moves the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman very patriotically extended his moral support to the cause behind the inquiry.

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In fact, he took initiative to ask both Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to fulfil the national duty to find out what really happened to Netaji. In a letter on May 29, 1992, The President assured that he will again pursue the matter of Investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji with the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao. His letter :

**PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

New Delhi,
May 29, 1992.

Dear Shri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R.VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,
8/2, Central Park,
Calcutta - 700032.

Finally, On March 26, 1991 the Deputy Minister of External Affairs informed the writer in a letter : 'The Ministry has initiated a High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development.' His letter :

**DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA**

No.489/DM/91

March 26, 1991.

Dear Prof. Samarjee,

1. Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.
3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032.

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But because of resignation of Chandra Sekhar Govt. this laudable decision about the Investigative Inquiry remained hanging in uncertainty.

A National Task for Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao

It appears that the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has not been posted with all facts about the rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission and the subsequent decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute an 'Investigative Inquiry' about the issue of disappearance of Netaji. Otherwise the Govt. would not have used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna for Netaji. Now, it is a legal, moral and sacred patriotic task for Narasimha Rao Govt. to effectively work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a 'High level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' and to 'finalize', to quote Pandit Nehru, the poignant issue that remained hanging about the fate of the epic hero of the Indian liberation.

An Investigative Inquiry, - Why ?

Why an Investigative Inquiry instead of another public inquiry about Netaji ? Only four Japanese, - the Chief of the Staff of the Japanese Army of the Tokyo Headquarters, Field Marshall Terauchi of S.E.Asia Japanese Command at Saigon, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari-Kikan and Col. Tada, a trusted officer of Terauchi's Headquarter, were the four key figures, who programmed and executed the escape-plan of Netaji to convey him to Russian territory of Siberia across the Manchurian border. All these principal persons are now dead. Political situation in Japan has now changed so much, that few people of its administration after 47 years can be expected to recollect the episode of the political move around the movement of Subhas Chandra Bose after fall of Japan.

Now mainly the Secret documents, reports, informations and findings of various inquiries that are likely to be available in the archives of Japan, UK, USA, Taiwan and most importantly of former the USSR, now the Russian Federation, can provide positive facts about what really happened to Netaji.

Soon after the report of the aircrash involving Netaji, the Wavell Govt. of India, Adml. Mountbatten of S.E.Asia Allied Command and Genl. Mac Arthur of the U.S.Pacific Army - instituted three 'immediate inquiry' separately to verify the truth about the alleged aircrash death of Subhas Chandra Bose. After reoccupation of Formosa (now Taiwan), on orders from Genl. Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify whether any air accident took place at Taipei (Taihoku) airport on August 18, 1945. And if so, whether Subhas Chandra Bose was in it.

None of the reports of these inquiries or their findings have been published. Only Wavell Govt. non-officially leaked-out to the press that its inquiry found that the report of aircrash death of Subhas Chandra Bose was correct. However, this was only for the consumption of the Indian public. Neither the Govt. of Wavell nor Mountbatten nor the Govt. of U.K. at any time officially confirmed Netaji's death. What the Wavell Govt. came to know after its investigation was secretly communicated to the U.K. Govt. in the form of 'Top Secret' despatch by R.F.Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy which has already been quoted earlier. This report informed Attlee Govt. that under the cover of the story of his death Bose took asylum in Russia.

Mountbatten's Inquiry Report

Mountbatten's inquiry report was never published, nor its findings were made known. A few pages of Mountbatten's Diary were given to the Shah Nawaz Committee in which it was

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found that the British Investigation Officer observed : '..... it appears that the whole thing is suspicious.... The description of the funeral is more suspicious.... Perhaps the aircrash was cooked-up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere.'

In 1978 the then Indian High Commissioner in U.K., Shri N.G.Goray, wrote to Lord Mountbatten : 'I would like to refer particularly to pages 137, 138 and 139 of Volume VI (of the Transfer of Power, 1942-47)' : that the Govt. of India knew that Shri Bose was alive and they were discussing how he should be dealt with. As you took over from Lord Wavell it will not be wrong to presume that you must have come to know every detail about the incident.'

Mountbatten very much knew the outcome of the inquiry which he himself ordered as the S.E.Asia Allied Command. And further as being a Viceroy of India, succeeding Lord Wavell, he had many reports about Netaji in possession of his Govt. He was keenly interested about Bose as he warned Pandit Nehru at Singapore in early 1946 'not to play-up Bose and his INA', as he believed that Bose was alive. **But Lord Mountbatten preferred to evasively reply to Goray on March 10, 1978 : '... there was no official record of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives.'** Look ! how truthfully behaved the 'Admiral of the Fleet, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, KG, PC, GCB, OM, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, DSO, FRS, Braodlands, Romsey, Hampshire 905 9 D. !'

However, evasive though he tried to be in his reply to Shri Goray - one thing he did truthfully that he didn't confirm Bose's death.

The British Global Military Intelligence of the War days, briefly called CSDIC, deputed B.C.Chakraborty, an Indian senior officer, to interrogate Col. Habibur Rahman. Chakraborty told Khosla Commission : 'After analysing all the reports that were in hands at the time with the CSDIC, it was obvious that Col. Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese Govt. concealed facts. Their reply was nothing other than a product of conspiracy regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 : None of them (the British Military Intelligence or the U.S.) believed that the information about Netaji's death could be correct'.

It is interesting to note that according to the evidence of Mir Chandani and B.C.Mallik, two former Chiefs of the Indian Intelligence, they told Khosla Commission that the Govt. of U.K. and the Govt. of India that pursued all the reports about Bose are still in possession of Govt. of U.K. besides the reports of Mountbatten's inquiry which, according to their policy decision, will be published after 100 years of 'The Transfer of Power'.

Probe by Genl. Mac Arthur

The investigation report of Genl. Mac Arthur's team was very vital because the U.S. team reached Tokyo and Formose (Taiwan) much earlier than the British team. This U.S. team examined all the concerned Japanese officer at Tokyo and Taihoku and repeatedly interrogated Col. Habibur Rahman. But nothing has been published so far about Mac Arthur's inquiry.

However, some facts were indirectly known about this report. At the time of Tokyo Trial after the War, Genl. Tojo, Genl. Fuzyama and other highest war-time Jap leaders, who were facing trial, were found to stand up and bow down their heads very reverentially when Chandra Bose's name was mentioned during the session of the Tokyo Trial. The U.S. jurists of the Trial being curiously intrigued by the performance of the civil and military Jap leaders of the war-days asked their Indian colleague, Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, why the Japanese behaved in that way when the name of Subhas Chandra Bose was mentioned ? They were told that it was the Japanese tradition of showing respect to the man whom they held in highest esteem. The U.S. jurist told Dr. Pal that 'what they know about U.S. inquiry, Subhas Chandra Bose didn't die in the alleged aircrash, - he escaped'. This information was given to the press by

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Dr. Pal after returning to India. Uptill now the U.S. Govt. have not mentioned anything about the report and the findings of the Mac Arthur's inquiry.

Investigation by Taipei Mayor

The Mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) of Taiwan (Formosa) soon after Chinese reoccupation of Formosa about a month after fall of Japan made an inquiry to verify the report of Bose's death in an aircrash at the Taipei airfield. The President of the Nationalist China, Genl. Chiang- Kai- Shek had very friendly relation with Subhas Chandra Bose in pre-war days. According to the report of H.V.Kamath, Prokash Vir Shastri and Mulka Govind Reddy — all former members of Parliament, who visited Taiwan on invitation by an unofficial organisation there, - the Mayor of Taipei told them that their inquiry could not verify the report of any aircrash at Taipei on August 18, 1945 involving Subhas Chandra Bose.

Taihoku airfield was the place of occurrence of the reported aircrash. But Pandit Nehru didn't allow Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taipei (Taihoku). However, Khosla Commission was allowed to visit this city, but Mr. Khosla refused to write to the Govt. of Taiwan to give him a copy of the Taipei Mayor's inquiry report on diplomatic plea, although the Taiwan Govt. was willing to respond to Indian request. The matter later was raised in Lok Sabha, when the then Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, denied if any such instruction was sent to Khosla. This report of the Mayor of Taipei is still available in the archives of the Taiwan Govt.

Habibur Rahman's Story

Col. Habibur Rahman stuck to his story of Netaji's death although he could convince neither the British, nor the American investigating team, nor any of his INA colleagues. **After interrogation of Habibur Rahman by the British team it observed: 'Habibur Rahman is unwilling to come out with truth'.** Everybody took his version as that of a soldier's statement in defence of the escape-plan of his master.

Habibur Rahman showed a rectangular watch with a burnt band saying that Netaji had it in his wrist when he was engulfed in the burning flame after the aircrash. But it was known to every INA personnel that Netaji always used a round shaped wrist watch and not any rectangular one. When Bhulabhai Desai, the Chief of the INA Defence Council asked Habibur Rahman to open the Watch, it was found that the oil inside the watch remained intact without forming any clot, although Habibur Rahman claimed that it was almost consumed in flame at the time of aircrash. Shri Desai indicatively smiled and returned the watch to Rahman without any comment.

While describing all about the aircrash, Habibur Rahman used to say that when the plane crashed he was wearing an wollen jumper, whereas Netaji had a Khaki suit on his body. When he was asked how was it that not a single thread of his wollen jumper was burnt but Netaji's less inflammable Khaki suit was 'horribly' caught in fire ? Habibur fumbled to answer this searching question.

Again, he said that he made frantic effort with both his hands to put out the flame all around Netaji's body after the aircrash. But when he was asked how could it happen that the palms of his two hands bore no burnt marks whereas the dorsal of his two hands showed some hazy marks, which in all probability could be of acid-burn? He looked vacant and attempted no explanation.

In 1947 before he moved to Pakistan, Habibur Rahman lived with his father-in-law who was the 'Prime Minister' of the Princely State of Alwar. He confessed to Mr. Khemchand the ICS Secretary to the Alwar Prime Minister that Netaji's death-story was nothing but cooked-up.

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In 1956 Habibur Rahman came to Delhi from Pakistan to appear before the Shah Nawaz Committee. However, a few days before his departure for Delhi the 'Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore published a news that Habibur Rahman told this paper that Netaji didn't die in the aircrash. This report was published in 'East Pakistan' dailies also. But he declined to contradict it. Habibur Rahman refused to appear before Khosla Commission to avoid cross examination by the judicial commission. Before non-judicial Shah Nawaz Committee he submitted just a written statement.

In 1966 when a Japanese biographer of Netaji, Mr. Hayashida, met Habibur in Rawalpindi, he repeated nothing than the same story of Netaji's death but added : '**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the greatest revolutionary that the Indian Subcontinent produced in the present century.....Many in Bharat still believe that he is still alive and will turn up someday. How we wish he had come back alive ! The flame of freedom lit by him is still burning and will continue to inspire the freedom fighters all over the world for all times to come.**' Oh ! how Habibur Rahman failed to hold back the truthful impulse of his inner conscience in some sensitive moment !

Internal Documents, 'Missing or Destroyed'

Nehru Govt. got in its possession all the secret reports of the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten after the 'Transfer of Power'. Panditji was also known to maintain a special file about Netaji. But Nehru Govt. placed only a few documents before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Indira Govt. also supplied almost the same package of files again for the scrutiny of the Khosla Commission. These documents included a few pages of Mountbatten's Diary, some parts of Figgis Report and a small part of the report of CSDIC. Some irrelevant papers were also sent to the Commission. However, inside the package of these official documents a very intriguing official note was found enlisting some 40 secret files about Netaji marked as 'Either Missing' or 'Papers Destroyed' ? Pandit Nehru's personal and other official files regarding the issue of Netaji were kept by Md. Yunus. 'Papers destroyed' were about 15. 'Notes destroyed' were about 12. 'Prime Minister's Secretariate File 'missing or destroyed' included - (i) Investigation into circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose, (ii) 'Indian National Army (INA) in the Far East', and (iii) 'INA Treasure'. These files were either deliberately destroyed or intentionally withheld. Mr. Khosla dared not to ask the Govt. why these valuable secret files were either 'destroyed or missing' and what were the contents of these files?

Netaji's Destination was Russia

It has been established from all documents and evidences that Netaji's destination after fall of Japan was Russia. Four days before the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 a special messenger from the Imperial headquarter of Tokyo, Mr. Negishi, rushed to Seramban in Malay to handover a confidential message from the highest Japanese authority. It showed in what respect the Japanese held Netaji. This confidential message urged Netaji to Immediately move to Saigon to fly out of the S.E.Asia zone without any delay. However, instead of accompanying Mr. Negishi, Netaji rushed to Singapore, the Hd. Qrt. of Azad Hind Govt. and held an emergent meeting of his Cabinet to decide the future course of the Azad Hind Govt. and the INA in the event of Japanese surrender. Netaji proposed to surrender to the British Army at Singapore. But his Cabinet unanimously decided that Netaji should make every effort to cross into Soviet Russia, whereas the Cabinet Ministers and the INA would surrender to the British Army at Singapore. After arguing with his Cabinet Ministers, Netaji finally agreed to bow-down to honour the wishes of his Cabinet. On 14th August Netaji attended a cultural function of the Jhansi Regiment without disclosing what was going to happen next day.

As Netaji was delaying to reach Saigon, on August 12, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan and Mr. Hachia, Jap Ambassador to the Azad Hind Govt. rushed to Singapore. On 13th August another messenger from Tokyo, Col. Sakai, reached Singapore to persuade Netaji to leave the area without any further delay. Netaji had several secret meetings with Col. Sakai and in one such meeting Col. Habibur Rahman was called in and directed by Netaji to hand over the charge of his office to Mj. Genl. M.Z.Kiani, who was given overall authority by Netaji to surrender to the British Army, separately from the Japanese, on behalf of the Azad Hind Govt. and its INA.

Netaji reached Bangkok on Aug 16, along with Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi, Col. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rahman, S.A.Ayer, Debnath Das, Pritam Singh, Mj. Hasan, Col. Gulgara Singh and others. At Bangkok, Netaji had several secret conclaves with Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada who were specially deputed by Field Marshall Terauchi to finalise Netaji's escape-plan. Again at Bangkok also Col. Habibur Rahman was exclusively called in by Netaji in one of such meetings. None else of the INA was asked to attend the secret conclaves. Next day on 17th August a plane took off at about 5 p.m. from Saigon carrying Netaji, Habibur Rahman, Genl. Shedei and few other Japanese Officers. The plane had an overnight hop at Tourane in North Vietnam.

What was the destination of Netaji ? Except Col. Habibur Rahman who made every effort to conceal all facts about the fateful movement of Netaji, on August 18, 1945, all other important Japanese witnesses like Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi and Col. Tada and all the Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. and the important INA Officers categorically told the Khosla Commission that Netaji's plan was to go to Russia via Dairen.

Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada of FM Terauchi's HQ of Saigon were entrusted by the supreme Japanese command to prepare and execute Netaji's escape plan to convey him safely to Russian Siberia. Genl. Isoda unreservedly told Khosla Commission: 'The purpose of Netaji's plan was to go to Soviet Union.... He was going to Russia via Saigon.... There was no plan to stay at Saigon. 'Genl. Isoda's Statement was much earlier corroborated by Col. Tada in a secret communication to S.A.Ayer when Pandit Nehru unannouncedly sent him to meet Col. Tada in 1951. In his 'confidential note' to Nehru, Ayer wrote: 'Col. Tada told me that it was arranged that Subhas Chandra Bose will fly in a plane in which Genl. Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Subhas Chandra Bose upto Dairen (in Manchuria) and thereafter he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allied power....'. After arrival of Col. Sakai from Tokyo it was found that Terauchi's plan coincided with the plan of the Tokyo Imperial Headquarters. Col. Tada further disclosed to Ayer that '.... The Japanese HQ had planned to make a false announcement of Netaji's disappearance.'

Col. Tada's disclosure showed that both the Imperial HQ and the HQ of Terauchi at Saigon planned to fly Netaji to Dairen with Genl. Shedei from where Gen. Shedei was to escort Netaji up to Siberia across the Manchurian border. To execute this plan five days were required and that was why although the plane was reported as have had crashed on August 18, the so-called death news of Netaji was broadcast on August 23.

Khosla Commission was told by all the Cabinet Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. that Netaji maintained a special liaison with Jakob Malik, the war-time Russian Ambassador at Tokyo.

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That Netaji reached Moscow has also been verified by several reports of the British intelligence sent to the Wavell Govt. in late 1945 and in early 1946. These informations, which the Govt. of Nehru didn't disclose in 1946 came before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 alongwith the Govt. papers submitted before it. One of these reports says '... There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. This information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are those who were aware of this. It is probably that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement.'

In another intelligence report it was stated that 'Bose' was in Russia. Assuming the name of Ghilzai Malang (It is known that Netaji was a past-master in assuming false names). In the third intelligent report it was said '..... In Dec 1945 a report said that Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed that Bose was in Moscow. In a report received from Tehran stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia.....'.

The British intelligence pursued this reports for further probe and submitted them to the Govt. of Wavell. These reports were said to be, as communicated to Khosla Commission, 'either missing or destroyed'.

Shri Shyamlal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Secretary of the INA Defence Council, told Khosla Commission that he was asked by Pandit Nehru on Dec 26/27, 1945 in the residence of Mr. Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which read: '... Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory, the Jeep returned after about 3 hours ...' Pandit Nehru sent a copy of this letter to the U.K. Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, asking him how Russia, their War-time ally, could provide shelter to Bose. This letter to Mr. Attlee was also typed by Shyamlal Jain. It appears unthinkable that Panditji could write such a letter to Attlee. But neither the Govt. nor Mr. Khosla challenged the statement of Shyamlal Jain.

Most positive and authentic information came from the source of the British Govt. in their documents 'Transfer of Power - 1942- 47' published in 1975. It has already been mentioned earlier that the British Govt. had the information that Netaji reached Russia and but preferred to remain silent about this report.

Many other indirect hints came about Netaji's presence in Russia. On reaching India after serving in Moscow as India's first Ambassador, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, made a startling statement at Bombay on her coming back to India. But after reaching Delhi she shut her mouth completely. Khosla Commission asked her, sending a formal letter, if she knew that Netaji was in Russia. She declined to appear before the Commission sending a strange reply: 'I have not met Subhas Chandra Bose after 1940'. Mr. Khosla didn't dare to summon her for cross examination.

The second Ambassador to Moscow Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his very close Calcutta friend Dr. Saroj Ray, an eminent philosopher of Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Subhas Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia.' This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian Dr. R.C.Majumdar, an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

Netaji in Russia - Two Revealing Reports

However, besides this indirect information, a revealing report came from a Bharat Heavy Engineering Corpn. Engineer, Shri A.Sarkar, now residing at Calcutta, who was sent to Russia three times by the Corporation for training in manufacture of heavy machineries. Sarkar learnt

Now an Unfulfilled National Duty for Shri Narasimha Rao

Mr. Clement Attlee who piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons came to visit India as a private citizen in mid-fifty. He was asked at Calcutta Raj Bhavan by the then acting Governor of West Bengal, Justice Phani Bhusan Chakraborty : 'Mr. Attlee, why did you quit India so precipitously after winning the Great War ?'. Prompt was the reply from the former Prime Minister of Britain : 'Because of the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose.' Yes, our Sub-continent which is now called India, Pakistan and Bangladesh got independence in 1947 because of the irresistible thrust of the revolutionary legends of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA. After the last Great War when the Saga of the Azad Hind Revolution raised a volcanic upsurge of militant patriotism that shook the very foundation of British Raj in India every Indian leader, except Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahammad Ali Jinnah, was seen to vie with one another in showing their eloquent homages on Netaji. But after India attained freedom nothing was done to acknowledge our national gratitude to the greatest national hero of our independence. Nay, no effective move was made to find out what really happened to him.

After 10 years of persistent agitations Pandit Nehru formed Shah Nawaz Committee 'to enquire into 'death of Netaji'. The Committee produced a report which the Indian people refused to accept. Again in 1967 more than 350 Members of Parliament launched a fresh agitation for instituting a judicial inquiry into Netaji's disappearance. After more than 2 year's continuous agitation the Govt. of Indira Gandhi instituted 'A one-man Judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' But the whole inquiry was vitiated by the tendentious motivation of its Chairman, Justice Khosla for which he had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. On Sept 3, 1978 Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. As the issue of the inquiry about Netaji was reopened by the Govt., Shri Morarji Desai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' to finalise the matter of the Netaji-inquiry. But no move could be made as his Govt. fell in 1979.

Again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji was taken up by the successive Govts. of Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was because of the patriotic and moral intervention of the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman, Chandra Sekhar Govt. announced on March 1991; 'starting of a High Level Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose into the documents available with Govts. of UK, USA, USSR, Japan and others'. But this move also got bogged because of resignation of the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

All hopes now rests with the willingness and the initiative of the veteran Freedom Fighter, Shri Narasimha Rao. Will India's present Prime Minister fulfil the objective of the Investigative Inquiry about Netaji as has already been decided by his predecessor Govt. ? If he feels it as our patriotic task to fulfil our unfulfilled national duty to Netaji, then his Govt will have to make a sincere and serious move to execute this investigation in a proper manner.

Firstly, the Prime Minister of India would have to write to all the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for making available the reports of the inquiries already made by them long before about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose of India.

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Secondly, the Govt. should write to the Japanese Govt. to provide all documents connected with the reports of the aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei) allegedly involving Netaji.

Thirdly, which is most vital, the Prime Minister of India should approach the new Russian Govt. and its sister's States to let India know what KGB know about Netaji's taking shelter in the former USSR. Now a new wind of freedom and liberalism is blowing in Russia and if our Govt. in such radically changed milieu take up the issue in all earnestness with the present Russian Govt. there is no reason why the present Govt. of Russia will not come out with all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that were and are still locked in the KGB files Stalin's achieves and other quarters.

In 1946 the Govt. of Communist China also featured in various news relating to Netaji. The Govt. of India should also approach the Communist regime of China to find out if they have any facts with them about Subhas Chandra Bose.

Lastly, the Govt. of India should make a thorough search to find out from their own official files and archives what were those 'top secret files' which were reported as 'either missing or destroyed'. What were the contents of these files should be carefully inquired into and all efforts should be made to trace Pandit Nehru's special files about Netaji and the other files left behind by the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten at the time of Transfer of Power.

The INA treasure that have been kept in the Delhi National Museum, — all about its sources, who brought them, how they were collected, — all facts should be inquired into.

Efforts should also be made to contact the family of Col. Habibur Rahman, who died two years back, to ascertain if he left any document, diary or any note about Netaji.

About 50 years after the last Great War there is no reason to believe that the Allied Powers' past political prejudices against Subhas Chandra Bose will stand any more in the way of their cooperation with the proposed Investigative Inquiry. For Russia, it is the most opportune moment when a friendly move by the Govt. of India is likely to succeed to convince the Russian Govt. to give out all facts, reports, documents and information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking shelter in Russia that are in possession or were in possession of the former KGB and other Russian secret sources.

The Govt. of India should set up a high level expert committee, to draw out the parameter and modality of its functioning to scan, scrutinise and judge all the documents likely to be available from the sources of the foreign governments and from the internal sources of our Govt. If our Govt. make a determined and honest effort the proposed Investigative Inquiry will certainly succeed to finally let our countrymen know what really happened to our Netaji.

Unanswered still Remains the Questions !

Netaji is no longer any political challenge to anybody. He is also not dead legally. The issue is still open before the Govt. There is no proof of his death in the alleged aircrash. There is no reports that he died elsewhere. There is no visual proof, as well, of his being alive. The longing question still remained unanswered. Then, what happened to our Netaji ?

Is he still languishing in the desolate cell of a Siberian Concentration Camp ? Has he been killed there by Stalin or did he die a gruelling death in a lonely cell ? Or, by the grace

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of the Maha Shakti he always worshipped, has the revolutionary pilgrim of India succeeded to come out of the Russian Concentration Camp ? Is he now living incognito as a 'Sanyasin' - a supreme consummation of his spiritual aspiration from the days of his early youth ?

We do not know yet what really happened to Netaji. But it is a sacred national duty that we have failed so long to know what really happened to the Maha Kshatriya of Modern India. Will Shri Narasimha Rao, a former Freedom Fighter, rise above all small political considerations to accept the national task of finding what really happened to the Netaji of the Indian people ? If Shri Rao fulfills this task his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. If Gandhiji survived a few years more he would raised storm in India to know the truth about Netaji, who 'gambled away his life' for the emancipation of his motherland. Let us not remain ungrateful to the epic hero of Indian freedom !

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An Appeal To Boris Yeltsin

Mr. Boris Yeltsin
Hon'ble President
Federation of Russia
Moscow, Russia

Honourable Sir,

After the great non-violent democratic revolution in the former Soviet Union under your leadership, Indian people are watching the democratic developments in the Russian Federation and its sister States with deep interest. What has happened in the former USSR is a seismic event that has shaken the existing co-relations of the present politics of the modern world, opening a new vista of peace, amity and human rights before the whole humanity.

Indian relation with Russia had always been friendly, cordial and mutually trustworthy. Indian freedom movement received sustained support from Russia. Our greatest national revolutionary, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was twice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, showed consistent interest in cultivating Russian friendship for the cause of Indian freedom.

After his historic escape from the British India in January 1941, he intended to reach Moscow via Kabul. But, because of the policy of Stalin at that time, Subhas Chandra Bose was compelled by the prevailing circumstances to divert his destination to Germany via Moscow to seek help of the "enemy's enemy" for ousting British Imperialism from India. He had to seek help of the Axis Power, though he was opposed to their ideology, for exploiting international enmity between Britain and Germany and also because of the fact that due to the Russo-German Pact, existing at that time, Germany was looked upon by him as an ally of Russia.

After the treacherous attack of Russia by Nazi Army in June 1941, the dream of Subhas Chandra Bose to achieve Indian independence with the collaborative help of Russia and Germany was shattered. Sitting at the very den of Hitler, Subhas Bose, the intrepid Indian Revolutionary, dared to write to Hitler's Foreign Minister Mr. Ribbentrop that "the Indian people

will view 'German attack' of Russia as an 'imperialist aggression.' Though Subhas Chandra Bose formed as Indian Legion in Germany, he never uttered a word in support of Nazi aggression of Russia, nor did he allow the Indian Legion to be used in anyway against the interest of Russia.

Being frustrated in Germany, Subhas Chandra Bose undertook an unthinkable hazard of 90 days Submarine journey from Kiel to Singapore. He created a saga of Revolutionary War of Indian Liberation against British Imperialism, the fiery impact of which ultimately compelled the British power to quit its Indian Empire after the War.

While waging 'War of Independence' against British Imperialism with the help of Japan, Subhas Chandra Bose never uttered a single word, nor did he do anything adversely against Russia or China. Rather, he always tried to maintain an attitude of friendship towards these two countries. His joining hands with Germany and Japan was motivated solely for winning Indian national independence.

When it became clear after fall of Germany that collapse of Japan was a matter of days, Subhas Chandra Bose contacted Mr. Jakob Malik, the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo, for seeking asylum in Russia. After surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, Tokyo Radio made a dubious broadcast on 23rd August circulating a story that Subhas Chandra Bose, the supreme leader of the Provisional Govt. of Free India, died in an aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei). But the report of Bose's death was not confirmed officially either by Japan or the U.K. nor also by the USA. Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army and Adml. Mountbatten of the S.E. Asia Allied Command immediately ordered two separate inquiries to probe into the story of Subhas Chandra Bose's death. But their inquiries couldn't find any positive evidence to confirm Bose's death.

Subhas Chandra Bose made his flight from Saigon on Aug 17, 1945. His destination was Russia, via Dairen. According to the Mac Arthur's Inquiry Japan made a false broadcast on Aug 23, 1945 to comouflage Subhas Chandra Bose's escape into Russian Siberia via Dairen.

During the days of 1945-46 British Intelligence made many reports to the Viceroy of British India, that Subhas Chandra Bose under the cover of the story of his aircrash death had actually reached Russia. This report was corroborated by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul, and the Russian Consul General at Tehean in 1946. It was told by them that Bose was living in Russia with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghilzai Malang'.

The Govt. of India instituted two inquiries to verify if the report of Bose's aircrash death was true. But these two inquiries failed to confirm Bose's death. All the high officers of Subhas Chandra Bose's Revolutionary Army (INA) and the Ministers of his Provisional Govt. of Free India and all the high ranking Jap Generals and Jap diplomats, who appeared before the two Indian inquiries, categorically stated that Bose's plan after fall of Japan was to go to Russia.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador to Moscow told his personal friend, Dr. Saroj Das of the University of Calcutta that he got the information that Subhas Chandra Bose was held in captivity in Soviet Russia by Stalin.

In 1975 the British Govt. published secret documents concerning 'Transfer of Power' to India. In it a specially important note, after analysing the pros and cons of various measures

how to punish Subhas Chandra Bose if he was arrested, recommended to the British Govt. in late 1945 that :

“...In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of Course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties.”

This note provides an authentic information that Bose took asylum in Russia after fall of Japan.

Another fact revealed is more startling. An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A.Sarkar, who was deputed by the Govt. of India to have training in machine building plant in Russia, was three times in Russia and knew Russian well. Mr. Sarkar worked in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovskaya near the city of Doniesk. He came in contact of a German – Jew there, who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant - Machinostroitel'nyy Zavod. His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany. He claimed that he met the Indian Revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose several times in Berlin.

Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken to Siberia in a train to an unknown place, from where he was flown to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said : ‘Sir, I have met you in Berlin’. Bose replied in his characteristic style : ‘Quite likely’. Bose then asked Zerobin : ‘What are you doing here?’ Replied Zerobin : ‘I don’t know what for.’ Zerobin again asked Bose: ‘What is your programme, Sir ? Are you going back to India’ ? Bose : ‘I expect it to be soon.’

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened : ‘Not allowed’.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed the report of his meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both Zerobin and Sarkar will be seriously endangered in Russia. After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

Prof. Samar Guha, a former member of the Indian Parliament and three-term Chairman of its Privilege Committee, – the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament, wrote a long letter to Mr. Gorbachev requesting him to disclose all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s taking asylum in Russia after fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Mr. N.Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. Gyani Zail Singh. A third letter was forwarded by the oldest President of Indian National Congress, Mr. S.Nijalingappa. Unfortunately, Mr. Gorbachev remained unresponsive.

A very important letter has been found out in 1991 in the archives of the US Princeton University, which confirmed the British report that Mahatma Gandhi knew that Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia in 1946. This letter was written by Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist Louis Fischer, who worked as go-between Gandhi

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and the US President. This letter was written on 22nd July, 1946. In it was written by Khurshed Behn, inter alia :

“.... At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (of Subhas Bose), if Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji, nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country”

Dear President Yeltsin ! We hope that you know how the Indian people hold Subhas Chandra Bose in their highest esteem as the greatest revolutionary of their national liberation. It was the saga of heroic exploits of the War of Indian Independence waged by Bose against the British Power that created such a tremendous anti-British upsurge in India after the Great War that it ultimately compelled the Britishers to withdraw from their Indian Empire. Mahatma Gandhi is hailed in India as the ‘Father of the Nation’ and in the same way Subhas Chandra Bose is acclaimed as ‘The Netaji’, — the supreme liberator of the Indian people.

It is not yet known what really happened to Subhas Chandra Bose in Stalin’s Russia. Many Indian Communist and Nationalist Revolutionaries were killed by Stalin. How Stalin treated Subhas Chandra Bose, the whole episode remained unrevealed.

Dear Mr. Yeltsin ! You have earned international admiration as the Liberator of the Russia people and a new harbinger of the message of peace, freedom and democracy for the humanity of our age. We beseech you to let the Indian people know what really happened to their beloved leader, their National Liberator, Subhas Chandra Bose, who sought asylum in Stalin’s Russia after fall of Japan. Your Govt. is now disclosing all secret KGB files, Stalin’s confidential archives and other hitherto unknown secret reports of Stalin’s days. You have gracefully rehabilitated many eminent Russians and have given promise to the US people to find out if any US soldiers are left anywhere in the Russian territory.

India and Russia are two great friendly countries. The people of these two countries had never any conflict between them. If you reveal all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, the greatest hero of Indian liberation, who sought asylum in Stalin’s Russia, you will win the hearts of the millions of the people of our country. The Indian people are pinning for years to know what ultimately happened to their beloved leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Promethean Hero of their nation, after he took political asylum in Stalin’s Russia.

We beseech you again President Yeltsin to let the Indian people know all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose after he sought political asylum in Stalin’s Soviet Russia !

May God bless you, bless the Russian people ! May God be in your heart to impel you to reveal all truths about the most beloved leader of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose, since he reached Russia after fall of Japan.

With warmest greetings and regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
SAMAR GUHA

(113)

Price Rs. 15/-

2306/JS(AP)/99-
30/6/94

1679/DIA(AP)/99
16/6



11051/PS/cmy
11/7

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Subject : Controversy regarding the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

JS(AP) may kindly see with reference to FR, a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, M.P. to MOS(RLB) and FS's minutes on the FR.

2. Prof. Guha and Shri Dinesh Goswami, Members of Parliament had written to the then Prime Minister, Shri Chandrasekhar, seeking a high-level enquiry into the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

3. Vide FMO's endorsement No. 870/11/P/10/91 dated 24.4.1991 (Flag 'A'), Director(FMO) had informed the MEA, that "no further action is required by Ministry of External Affairs in view of the recent CCPA decision that no useful purpose would be served by yet another enquiry". Therefore, no enquiry was instituted by the Ministry of External Affairs.

4. Thereafter, the then Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri Digvijay Singh had acknowledged Prof. Samar Guha's letter to the then Deputy Prime Minister Shri Devi Lal on the issue (Flag 'B') on March 26, 1991, indicating that "Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiry". This communication has been interpreted by Prof. Samar Guha as indication that a high-level enquiry was instituted by the Chandrasekhar Government. Subsequent to this letter of the then Minister of State for External Affairs, which has been reproduced in Prof. Guha's pamphlet titled "Country must know what happened to Netaji" on page 7, Prof. Samar Guha has sought to know from the Ministry of External Affairs regarding the results of the "enquiry", several times.

4. Shri Dinesh Singh, EAM, has written to Prof. Guha on May 25, 1993 (Flag C) replying to his various letters on the subject.

(Dr. Madhup Mohta)
Deputy Secretary (A.F.)
16.6.1994

Director(A.F.)

6-28/6/94

JS(A.F.)

29/6

PRAMOD MAHAJAN, M.P.
CHAIRMAN

DEPARTMENT-RELATED PARLIAMENTARY
STANDING COMMITTEE ON
TRANSPORT AND TOURISM



11157/PS/247
4/7

PARLIAMENT HOUSE ANNEXE,
NEW DELHI

June 23, 1994

2369/58/140/94

5/7

Dear Shri Bhatiaji,

I am forwarding herewith a copy of letter addressed to you from Shri Samar Guha, former Member of Parliament regarding "Ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose".

I shall be grateful if you kindly give due consideration to finally resolve the issue about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,

प्रमोद महाजन

(Pramod Mahajan)

Shri R.L. Bhatia
Minister of State in the
Ministry of External Affairs
Govt. of India
New Delhi.

Shri Guha's letter
of 27 May, directly
received by MOS, was
marked to P.S.

Arasat
11/7

D.S (P.S.O.)

70AP

1261 sent to PS on 13/6

Should we keep or just
acknowledge? The point is
that no further enquiry will make
under PM Chandrasekhar. Unfortunately
EAM's letter gives the wrong impression, but
it does not constitute an assurance that any
fresh enquiry is being undertaken or that Co I is agents
rejecting or revising the Mohan Lal/Chandrasekhar enquiry.
The problem is that he more we write, the more the
Kjardies. He discuss with MOS KLB
& let us know on return 18/6

4/7/94

(14) (11)

S-1640/S/0794
30/6

(116)

~~SECRET~~

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COPY NO. 5

No. 50/4/1/94-TS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (BHARAT SARKAR)
CABINET SECRETARIAT (MANTRIMANDAL SACHIVALAYA)
RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN

New Delhi, the 30th June, 1994.

.....

Subject:- Review of Internal Security.

.....

✓ Cabinet Secretary will take a meeting at 4.00 P.M. on Monday, the 4th July, 1994, in the Committee Room of the Cabinet Secretariat, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi.

2. The following subject will be discussed in the meeting:-

- i) Controversy about Netaji's death and allegations that he was an MI-6 agent.
(Doc.No. CD(TS)-102/94 - attached).

3. Kindly make it convenient to attend the meeting.

S. Sangwan

(Shiela Sangwan)
Director.

To

Shri A.N. Varma, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister.
Shri A.S. Syali, Secretary(R), Cabinet Secretariat.
Shri K.N. Daruwalla, Chairman, J.I.C., Cabinet Secretariat.
Shri K.A. Nambiar, Defence Secretary.
✓ Shri K. Srinivasan, Foreign Secretary.
Shri K. Padmanabhaiah, Home Secretary.
Shri V.G. Vaidya, Director, Intelligence Bureau.

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CABINET SECRETARIAT (MANTRIMANDAL SACHIVALAYA)
RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN

New Delhi, the 8th July, 1994.

....

Subject:- Review of Internal Security.

.....

Cabinet Secretary will take a meeting at 4.00 P.M. on Monday, the 11th July, 1994, in the Committee Room of the Cabinet Secretariat, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi.

2. The following subjects will be discussed in the meeting:-

- with
F30
- i) Controversy about Netaji's death and allegations that he was an MI-6 agent.
(Doc.No. CD(TS)-102/94 already circulated vide this Secretariat O.M. of even number dated 30.6.1994).
- with
JS(UNE)
- ii) Offer of Services of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in respect of Jammu and Kashmir.
(Background note already circulated by Ministry of Home Affairs).

3. Kindly make it convenient to attend the meeting.


(Sheila Sangwan)
Director.

To

Shri A.N. Varma, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister.
Shri A.S. Syali, Secretary(R), Cabinet Secretariat.
Shri K.N. Daruwalla, Chairman, J.I.C., Cabinet Secretariat.
Shri K.A. Nambiar, Defence Secretary.
Shri K. Srinivasan, Foreign Secretary.
Shri K. Padmanabhaiah, Home Secretary.
Shri V.G. Vaidya, Director, Intelligence Bureau.

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Ministry of External Affairs
Office of Joint Secretary (AP)

.....

180/JS(A) (a)
13/7/94

As desired by FS, matter was discussed by me with MOS(RLB). MOS(RLB) directed that we should put an end to this long-standing correspondence, since no new conclusive evidence has emerged. MOS(RLB) suggested that the onus should be put on Shri Samar Guha to produce such evidence, failing which there was little extra that we could do.

Accordingly, a draft letter is placed below from MOS(RLB), addressed to Shri Pramod Mahajan and copy to Shri Samar Guha.

FS/MOS(RLB) may kindly see.



(R.S. Kalha)
Joint Secretary (AP)
13/7/94

FS

MOS(RLB)

Muty. file?

SLP

a/c
12/9/94

Shri Shankar Rao Bhaskar Rao Chavan,
 Home Minister, Govt. of India,
North Block, NEW DELHI - 110001.

JULY 13, 1994.

Dear Shri Chavan,

A veteran freedom fighter at the fag-end of his life, almost bed-ridden caused due to Paralysis in the lower limbs besides other ailments including a victim of TB and the recent twice heart attacks who lived dangerously in the cause of National Struggle Against the hard British Imperialism herein India and abroad is very much willing to send the copies of ~~my~~ his letters dated, Jalpaiguri, the 3rd MAY and the 25th MAY, 1994 respectively which have had the obvious cause to write to say to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India and Shri Raghunandan Lal Bhatia, External Affairs Minister of States, India for the very kind perusal of yours; and it pertaining to "Let the History Judge" and the "Minister's fear over Netaji's ashes" the reply at Parliament (RAJYA SABHA) on MAY 10, 1994 in the context of said letter re: "Let the History Judge" addressed to the present Prime Minister, India Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao regarding his studied silence over the issues of (1) "Brining of the Fake Ashes from Japan to India of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and (2) the Awarding of Bharat Ratna to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose" without having pronouncing the date, the time and the place of his demise, till date.

Alongside these copies of letters (a) JUNE 13 and JUNE 23, '94 respectively written to Shri P.M. Sayeed, Minister of State for Home Affairs, India and to Shrimati Mamata Banerjee, M.P.(LS) in the above said context and relating to the Resentments of the Freedom Fighters are being sent obviously for the same purpose and in reference to two of the letters ~~dated~~ dated: respectively, MAY 30, 1992 and DECEMBER 09, 1985 that were written to you and the Reply of which have never been received. And all the photocopies stated in the said letters are being enclosed here with obviously and as mentioned in the above said letter dated: MAY 03, 1994 and MAY 25, 1994 and enclosed for kind perusal and the Reply thereto.

In those days when we the freedom fighters' were living dangerously and were involved in "Life & Death" questions we kept ready at our hands both Potassium Cyanide and Loded Fire Arms and were ready to face all or any eventualities. But, now what a tragedy that have engulfed us and the very rampant corruptions and the code of conducts of the political executives in the Council of Ministers keeping dead-silence over the oft-repeated demand and claims we the veteran freedom fighters are spelling out to have the answer proper in the Replies to our letters.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

S. Sanyal,
 S. SANYAL. 13.07.94.

Encl. As stated & copies of

letter to Shri Ram Lal Rahi MOS for HA.
 cc to: Shri Rajesh Pilot,

MOS for Home Affairs (IS),

Shri Bhuvanesh Chaturvedi,

MOS, PM'S OFFICE, Shri Arjun Singh, Minister HRD, India ...&..

Regd. Letter.

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MAY 03, 1994.

"Let the History Judge."

Dear Shri Rao,

The freedom fighters in the cause of National Struggle against die hard British Imperialism here in India and abroad had had the reasons obvious to write to say to the Prime Ministers of India since the days of late Shri Jwaharlal Nehru on such issues as the "things, persons and happenings" that concern the Country and the Peoples. And, since the days of late Shrimati Indira Gandhi Prime Minister, India who she did took up the cause of Pension to Freedom Fighters and had promulgated it w.e.f AUGUST 15, 1972 right after the BANGALADESH Liberation and which when was to be pronounced by the late Shri Lal Bhadur Shastri erstwhile Prime Minister, India is a point to this I have had the cause obvious to spell out to you and all other concerned in the context of all or any of my correspondences to you since your taking up the Office of the Prime Ministership of India after the most tragic "death" of late Shri Rajib Gandhi, youngest and the "reluctant" Prime Minister of India thus sponsord.

The "resentment" of the Freedom Fighters are very much pronounced regarding the said "things, persons and happenings" of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. And, besides other relevant episodes the Book: In Search Of Freedom, written by late Shri Jogesh Chatterjee ex-M.P is a pointer. And the very remark of late Mahatma Gandhi apropos of the socalled Demise of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at Taikoo Air Field in Taipei in the 18/19 AUGUST 1945 - which had never occurred - has had to be given its due weight, not to speak of the "Words" spelt out by late Shri Radhabinode Paul, the Jury in the International Court for the Trial Of War Criminals in Japan; and all other relevant Books in this respect including the "INDIA WAIT" by Mirdel the Junior in recent time.

And it should be noted recalled my letter dated, the 2nd

Guth... -2/

Contn....2nd OCTOBER, 1982 and the TELEGRAM.....

2nd OCTOBER, 1982 and the TELEGRAM theretofore to late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, India regarding the said "DEATH" and the relevant affairs of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the context of "FAKE ASHES" kept at Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, JAPAN and the "remark" of Shri Joyti Basu, Chief Minister, West Bengal vis-a-vis the oft-repeated attempts of "interested few" in bringing the said "fake ashes" from JAPAN and which is again being done as reported in the Press by the Government of India, you are requested denovo fervently NOT TO DO SUCH THINGS as the bringing of the said fake ashes of Netaji Subhas in INDIAN SOIL. When such beseeching demands was made to late Shri Rajib Gandhi, Prime Minister, India on several occasion and when the very such attempts were not entertained by the GOI in the past.

Late Shri Y.V. Chavan, Home Minister, India was persuaded and the Secened Enquire Commission under Shri Khosla was set up to find the real reality regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and which Shri Morarji Desai former Prime Minister, India rejected it and on the floor of the Parliament he pronounced that the "Khosla Commission" could not established the fact that Netaji Subhas was Dead & Gone at the Air Field of Thakuho in Taipei in the year of AUGUST 1945.

And when "all this on a sudden" so to say the Government of India is now bent upon to bring the FAKE ASHES of Netaji Subhas from Tokyo Japan - where late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, India had visited and signed the visitor's book followed by his daughter late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, India - then it were a nefferious act and we the freedom fighters "RESENTED" it and as I have pointed out above, beseeching demand was put before the said Prime Minister late Shrimati Indira Gandhi not to indulged in such act of nefferious attempts of bringing the said FAKE ASHES from Renkoji Temple in Tokyo JAPAN. We took it for a final settlement, but then the "inyerested few" who are upto anything to belittle the FREEDOM FIGHTER of all the time to come: Netaji Subhas were and are yet to be watched-out. Because, not or.

Contn.....Because, not only this.....

Because, not only this, but all sorts of such attempts were in the offing as the copy of my letter dated, the 19th November, 1986 I had had the ~~same~~ cause to write to say to Shri H.Y. Saradaprosad, Press Secretary to the erstwhile Prime Minister, India, late Shri Rajib Gandhi, and the reply of it is with me as the final reply of the said Prime Minister would show all about it.

But, all these and 'Heaven Too' did not disassociate the said interested few inside and out of the GOI, but have prompted them with a new device to act upon the misdeed they are following to belittle the freedom fighters in particular of 'BENGALI ORIGINE' - their dedication and sacrifices notwithstanding for the cause of National Struggle against the hard British Imperialism. And, as such, the resultant awarding of Bhart Ratna posthumously to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose without having pronouncing the date, the time and the place of his demise was resented with all the force and the weight of ours could be of any use at this far end of life - after the massive heart attacks and all other ailments including the paralysis in the lower limbs and the very victim of TB since the prison's life and absences and when best of our fellow freedom fighters are dead & gone. But, even then, I would demand of you - the present Prime Minister, India to disassociate yourself and the GOI from doing further more hefferious act of belittling the Freedom Fighters - Netaji Subhas and all other worth of ~~name~~ such name. And, in the end, but not in the least I do implore upon your sense of truth consciousness to have a look into the News Item - UNI - apropos a Book viz "Unsolved Murder and Mistries, date line, Bombay 13 APRIL (1994) and my Telegram dated, the 3rd AUGUST, 1976 (to PM India) in connexion with OCCULT CAUSE OF EXPLOSION of the British Merchant Navy at Bombay Port in the year 1944 APRIL 14 and my "involvement" I had had the cause to spell out as much as it could beand because of the secret ^{was} we took to keep our involvement a secret till our demise, And about the 12 points programme of the "AICC" - pronounced by late Shri Joyprakash Narayan and othe including a good sections of the then "Communist Advanced

Contn.....4/

Contd....."Communist & Advanced Anusilan.....

& Advanced Anusilan: Revolusionar Socialist, the IRA and few other indiduals, - not to be apprehended by the then "Police" of the British Rule and Allied Army etc. etc. And do all the major "SABOTAGE" in the War preparation of the British here in India and elsewhere. And since 1943 it was done successfully and the "Fund Raising" from TEA ESTATES were also 'a' must in our involvement at that time of AUGUST ANDOLAN & QUITE INDIA MOVEMENT OF 1942. The real history of it would be revealed after my death in the meaning of the said "Secred Vow" taken at that time and was told and retold to then Prime Minister of India on AUGUST 03, 1976 which is in record and you may kindly check it up if you are so desircous.

Thus in the context of all or any of correspondences and the very Court case at Calcutta High Court and, now at the Suprime Court at New Delhi the case regarding the above stated awarding of Bharat Ratna to Netaji Subhas vis-a-vis the Affidavite submitted by the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri N.N. Vora would kindly be recalled my telegram and the letter that followed in this connexion and the very finessee of yours when it is said that your and your two collouges Shri Minmohan Singh (finance minister) and the very successor of freedom fighter'sson of late Kamada Kinkar Mukherjee, - Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Commerce Minister, India have sold our Country under the very impact of Dunkel-GATT Treaty and to the BIG BUSINESS comprising the Bureaucrate and Multinational top Executives say for instance - Nufield-Birla nexus, and, now Du Pont -Dherubhai Ambani, when the USSR is said be dead and gone from the field of Trade, Economy and Social.

Your studied silence in the context of Telegram dated, the 14th JANUARY, 1994 last which reads: "Reply absent conspicuously regarding half rent free telephone to freedom fighters besides other genuine grievances" may be the fate of this one, but, then you kindly take note of the "RESENTMENTS" of a veteran freedom fighter - who is spelling out it because for

the RECORDS to be kept at the PM's Office, South Block, New Delhi and to other concerned as in terms of the above quoted words: "Let the History

(5)

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Contd...."Let the History Judge.....

"Let the History Judge" - when the verdict of the Supreme Court will be
looked with interest and, in the meantime, with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

S. SANYAL.

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister, India,
South Block, NEW DELHI -110011.

As stated in the letter dated: JULY 13
1994 this copy is being sent to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India,
North Block, New Delhi-110001 as enclosure.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL, 13. 07. 1994.

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MAY 25, 1994.

Shri Raghunandan Lal Bhatia,
Ministers of State, India for
External Affairs,
NEW DELHI - 110001.

Sub: "Let the History Judge" apropos of letter dated, the 3rd MAY, 1994 addressed to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India.

Ref: Your Reply in Rajya Sabha on 10th MAY 1994 regarding the bringing of FAKE ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHAS from Renkoji Temple at Tokyo in JAPAN.

Dear Shri Bhatia,

In reference with above I enclosed herewith for your kind perusal the copy of above stated letter dated, the 3rd MAY, 1994 a veteran freedom fighter I have had the cause obvious to write to say to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India apropos of not only bringing to India the FAKE ASHES, but, the RESENTMENTS of ours regarding the "Awarding of Bharat Ratna" to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose - 2without having pronounced the Date, the Time and the Place of Netaji's Demise" Posthumously.

And alongside this I am enclosing also the photocopies of letter dated, NOVEMBER 26, 1986 no.PmP-1343 of Shri H.Y. Saradaprosad, Information Advisor, Prime Minister, India, late Shri Rajib Gandhi and the last letter dated: DECEMBER 08, 1990 of erstwhile Prime Minister, India mentioned in the letter dated, the 3rd MAY, 1994 I have the cause to spell out to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, the present Prime Minister, India for your kind perusal of yours in relation to your above referred statement in the Rajya Sabha on MAY 10, 1994 regarding the bringing to Indian Soil the fake ashes of Netaji Subhas from Tokyo, Japan. Also, for the same purpose your kind perusal to other copies (1) from the Minister of State for External Affairs (K) no.1294/MOS(K)/88 dated: 13 OCT 1988 (2) letter No.4/31/88-FF(P) dated: 16 MAY, 1988 from Ministry of Home Affairs alongwith the copy of Telegram dated, Jalpaiguri, the 11 MAY, 1990 addressed to Prime Minister: V.P. Singh and External Affairs Minister: I.K. Gujral and (3) the News Item date line, Bombay 13 APRIL-UNI regarding the Book: "Unsolved Murder and Mistries" apropos of the "OCCULT CAUSE OF EXPLOSION OF BRITISH MERCHANT NEVY AT BOMBAY PORT" in the year 1944 APRIL 14 and my ~~my~~ "involvement" which will be revealed after my DEATH stated in the above said letter to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India and was told ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to late Shrimati Indira Gandhi Prime Minister, India in the TELEGRAM dated, Jalpaiguri, the 3rd AUGUST, 1976 followed by letters and have the cause to mention to the present Prime Minister,

A reply from you will be appreciated and, in the meantime, with all the good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/—

S. SANYAL.

Encl. As stated.

As stated in the letter dated: JULY 13, 1994 this copy is being sent to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India, North Block, New Delhi-110001.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL. 13. 07. 1994.

Minister's fears over 'Netaji's ashes'

NEW DELHI, May 11. — The Government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes, reported to be of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, back to India from Japan, in the absence of a consensus on the issue might prove divisive and create tensions, Mr R. L. Bhatia, Minister of State for External Affairs, told the Rajya Sabha today, reports PTI. The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remain divided, Mr Bhatia told Mr Viren J. Shah in a written reply.

THE STATESMAN, THURSDAY MAY 12, 1994

নেতাজির চিতাভস্ম আনলে উত্তেজনা দেখা দেবে : মন্ত্রী

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১১ মে : কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার আজ সংসদে ইংকার করেছে নেতাজি সুভাষচন্দ্র বসুর মৃত্যু নিয়ে দেশের মানুষের মধ্যে মতভেদ রয়েছে এবং এ ব্যাপারে আবেগ জড়িয়ে রয়েছে। আজ রাজ্যসভায় এক নির্দিষ্ট প্রশ্নের উত্তরে কেন্দ্রীয় বিদেশ রাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী বদুন্দনলাল ভাটিয়া একথা ইংকার করে জানিয়েছেন, যতক্ষণ না নেতাজির মৃত্যু নিয়ে ধোয়াশা দূর হচ্ছে ততক্ষণ ভারত সরকার জাপানের কোনকোজি মন্দির থেকে নেতাজির চিতাভস্ম দেশে আনবে না। কারণ সেক্ষেত্রে এখানে উত্তেজনা দেখা দিতে পারে। দুই বি জে পি এম পি বীরেন শাহ ও প্রমোদ মহাজনের এক প্রশ্নের জবাবে বদুন্দনলাল ভাটিয়া এই উত্তর দিয়ে আরও বলেছেন, নেতাজির চিতাভস্ম দেশে ফেরানোর চেষ্টা হয়েছে।

বর্তমান ১২ মে ১৯৯৪।

This photocopy of News Items in English and in Bengali apropos of "Bringing Fake Ashes from Japan to India in reference to letters to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India and to Shri R.L. Bhatia, Minister of States, India for External Affairs' dated, Jalpaiguri, the 13th July, 1994 is being sent to Shri S. B. Chavan, Home Minister, India as Enclosure to letter dated, Jalpaiguri, JULY 13, 1994.

S. Sanyal.
S. SANYAL. 13. 07. 1994.

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Mr. P.M. Sayeed,
Minister of State (States) India,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
NEW DELHI-110001.

JUNE 13, 1994.

reg: "Let the History Judge."

Dear Mr. Sayeed,

I am enclosing herewith for your kind perusal the copies of my letters dated, the 3rd MAY, 1994 and the 25th MAY, 1994 I have had the cause obvious to write to say to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India and to Shri R.L. Bhatia, Minister of State for External Affairs, India respectively with its enclosures.

This has had its reference to "Minister's fear over Netaji's ashes" pronounced by above said Minister of State for External Affairs, India on the floor of the Parliament (RS) on MAY 10, 1994 which when was to be taken into its proper account over my above said letter to Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India in the context of the oft-repeated attempts of the "interested few" in bringing the "Fake Ashes of Netaji Subhas" kept at Renkoji Temple at Tokyo in Japan; and the very awarding of Bharat Ratna posthumously to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose without having pronouncing the date, the time and the place of his Demise, till date. And the RESENTMENT of the Freedom Fighters spell out in the Correspondences - letter and telegram long before the CASES at Calcutta High Court and now at the Supreme Court at New Delhi, wherein the Affidavite submitted by the retired Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri N.N. Vora and the hearing of which will be on JULY 26.

This apart, the clipping of a news paper (in Bengali) date line, Bombay, APRIL 13 (1994) regarding a Book: "Unsolved Murder and Mistries" pertaining to the OCCULT CAUSE OF EXPLOSION OF BRITISH MERCHANT NAVY" at Balar Pear on APRIL 14, 1994 and my involment thereto which would be revealed after my Demise in accordance with the SECRETED VOW taken and in relation to the 12 points programme apropos of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ AUGUST ANDOLAN - the Quite India Movement of 1942, the all out SABOTAGE towards the War preparation of Allied Army is a point in the case of our involment. And, this has had its reference with your printed letter dated the ~~JULY~~ 21, 1993 in the context of the "Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Quite India Movement" stated above and the very letter of invitation we are favoured with at the behest of Shri Shashi Bhushan ex-MP Member National Committee where the "Speakers" are: Shri S.B. Chavan, Union Home Minister, Shri Arjun Singh, Union Minister for HRD, Shri Chandra Shekhar, M.P (Former Prime Minister) and Smt. Sheela Kaul, Union Minister for Urban Dev., and where Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India 'has kindly consented to preside' but, alas none from the BENGAL's veterans like Shri Tridib Chaudhury, M.P(RS), Shri Sushil Dhara, ex-M.P while the Chief Minister, West Bengal, Shri Joyti Basu was included in the said National Committee for Golden Jubilee Celebration - a Communist who along with other Called all or any "BAD NAMES" regarding Q.I.M of '4

Nevertheless a line or two from your end will be appreciated and in the meantime, with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

S. SANJAL.

ENCLOSURES.

R/L.

As stated in the letter dated: JULY 13, 1994 this copy ~~next~~ is being sent to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India, North Block, New DELHI - 110001.

S. Sanjaly

S. SANJAL. 13. 07. 1994.

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Shri Ram Lal Rahi,
Deputy Minister Home Affairs,
Government of India,
North Block,
NEW DELHI - 110001.

JUNE 20, 1994.

Dear Shri Rahi,

Your direction to all the Chief Ministers of the States and Union Territories regarding the inclusion of the Freedom Fighters in all the Important Committees concerning the Welfare are very much 'interesting' because, all other States and Union Territories, except the State's of West Bengal, Pension to Freedom Fighters had been granted over and above the Political Family Pension the Freedom Fighters' are been provided with. And, it may kindly be noted that except the AIR no other Important News Papers either in Bengali or in English herein West Bengal your said "direction" were pronounced and printed for the Freedom fighters to be aware with.

And, as such, I am enclosing herewith for your kind perusal the copies of my letters dated, the 3rd and the 25th May, 1994 respectively addressed to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India, and Shri R.L. Bhatia, Minister of State for External Affairs with its enclosures. All these are in respect of (a) bringing about in India from Japan the "FAKE ASHES" kept at Renkoji Temple in Tokyo said to be of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose - who had never died at TAIKOHU AIR FIELD in TAIPEI in the years of 1945 AUGUST 18/19. And (b) apropos the very "RESENTMENT" of the FREEDOM FIGHTERS the "Awarding of Bharat Ratna" to Netaji Subhas posthumously without having pronounced the time, the place and the date of Netaji's Demise by the Government of India, till date. When, of course, the said Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri R.L. Bhatia, pronounced on the floor of Parliament (RAJYA SABHA) on MAY 10, 1994 "The Government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes reported to be of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, back to India from Japan, in the absence of consensus on the issue might be divisive and create tensions." and as reported R by the Press Trust of India, NEW DELHI, MAY 11 - the Statesman MAY 12.

The freedom fighter's worthy of name are taking your said "direction" and "obsevation" previously with interest; and would appreciate your reply to this letter with its enclosures - very much; and, in the meantime, with all the good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

S. SANYAL.

ENCLOSURES as stated.

*Excluding The Poem and
the copy of letter to Shri
P.K. Ghosh, etc.*

cc to: Shri S.B. Chavan,

Home Minister, India, Enclosure to letter dated: JULY 13, 1994.
New Delhi-110001.

S. Sanyal.
S. SANYAL, 13. 07. 94.

Shriyanti Manojta, Bongerjee, A.P., and

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Shrimati Manata Banerjee, M.P.,
30 B, Harish Chatterjee Street,
CALCUTTA - 700 026.

JUNE 23, 1994.

Dear Shrimati Banerjee,

In sending herewith for your kind perusal copies of my letters of MAY 3, 1994 with its enclosure (i) photocopy of letter of Shri H.Y. Saradaprosad, Information Advisor, no.PmP 13148 dt. November 26, 1986 of ~~xxxxx~~ erstwhile Prime Minister, India late Shri Rajib Gandhi in reaction to "Raj Se Swraj" of TV Film apropos of Netaji Subhas and (ii) last and final letter dated: DECEMBER 08, 1990 of late Shri Rajib Gandhi, I have had the cause obvious to write to say to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India, and MAY 25, 1994 with its enclosure "Minister's fear over Netaji's ashes" a photoclipplings of PTI date line, NEW DELHI, May 11 in English in the Statesman, Thursday MAY 12, 1994 alongwith the Bartaman's in Bengali, I wrote to Shri R.L. Bhatia, Minister of State for External Affairs, India regarding his "Reply in Rajya Sabha on 10th MAY, 1994 - the bringing of FAKE ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHAS" from Renkoji Temple at Tokyo in Japan" on the subject matter: "Let the History Judge".

Also the copies of letters dated: JUNE 13 and JUNE 20, 1994 written to Mr. P.M. Sayeed, Minister of State for Home Affairs and Shri Ram Lal Rahi, Deputy Minister Home Affairs, India, New Delhi alongwith the two photocopies received from Under Secretary to the Govt. of India Shri H.S. GARA no.4/31/88-TF(P) dated:16MAY 1988 and the other no.1694/MOS(K)/88 dated:13 OCT-1988 from Minister of State for External Affairs, GOI New Delhi Prof.K.K. Tewari; and a photocopy of New Item date line, Bombay 13 APRIL (U.N.I.) appeared in Bartaman 14 APRIL, 1994 regarding a Book: "Unsloved Murder and Mistris" mentioned in above stated letters and pertaining to "our involvements in the cause of OCCULT EXPLOSION of British Merchant Navy at Bombay Port in the night of APRIL 14, 1944 fifty years back and a prelude to the Naval Rattings of 1966 and the "CAUSE OF WHICH WOULD BE REVEALED AFTER MY DEMISE AS PER THE SECRETED VOW TAKEN THERETO" and was made known at the time of Emergency by a TELEGRAM dated, Jalpaiguri, the 3rd AUGUST, 1976 folloed by letter has the best reasons to send to you obviously in the context of my above said letter of MAY 3, 1994 I write to say to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India re: the Freedom Fighter's RESENTMENT regarding "Awarding of Bharat Ratna posthumously to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose without having pronouncing the date, the time and the place of Netaji's Demise, till date. And, as such, copy of my letter of JUNE 11, 1994 addressed to Shri Pabitra Ghose, Clomunist, the Bartaman alongside a poem's photocopy of mine may kindly be looked into - a veteran freedom fighter who would soon reach 80 years and onced lived dangerously, now paralysed and with two massive heart attacks would be glad and appreciate your takingup

Contd..2/

JUNE 23, 1994

Contn..your takingup.....

the obvious cause of the resentment - the veteran freedom fighter at the fag end of his life's span is spelling out and who surely be again coming to see, to find and to be yailed before the success as his poem said - and voiced it in the Parliament (LS) - a real Bengal lhae, wherein the freedom fighter for all the time to come is being belittled and the State of West Bengal is in the bad need of Bengali heritage and culture of Revolutionary audacity to expose the hipocracy and the rampant corruption by your courageous conviction of truth consciousness.

It is needless to add that your takingup the issue of Pension to freedom fighters with Shri S.B. Chavan which when would been complied with by late Shri Rajib Gandhi.

And in conclusion you requested fervently to go through the feature: "Between the Lines" the Columnist Shri Kuldip Nayar has written in the Statesman, Wednesday June 22, 1994 and try to be the real political element representing the people's aspiration and expectation they are being denied by the toady and shrewd Politicians a Joyti Babu here in West Bengal and Said Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao there at the Central Government wielding the apparatus but have the little or no relation with the real reality of the extreme poor people and their needs and aspiration the said feature have wilstated.

With all the best wishes from a veteran freedom fighter looking forward with interest a revolutionary spirit as your stature is showing the future promise, but, then, be were of CAJOLI,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/
S. SANYAL.

Encl. As stated and
one photoclippin
regarding NETAJI'S ASHES
and INSULT to NETAJI -
MAY 20, 1994 and JUNE 10, 1994

respectively appraised in the Statesma & in the Bartaman.
Excluding the Poem and the copy of letter to Sh. P. K. Ghosh, Columnist, SS.

cc to: Shri S.B. Chavan,
Home Minister, India,
NEW DELHI - 110001, ...&...

As stated in the letter
dated: JULY 13, 1994.

S. Sanyal,
S. SANYAL. 13. 07. 1994.

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RAJIV GANDHI
10 Janpath, New Delhi-110011

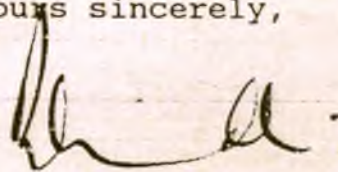
December 08, 1990

Dear Shri Sanyal,

Thank you for your letter dated
November 19, 1990 and for the enclosed
copy of your letter addressed to the
Prime Minister.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,



Shri Sankar Sanyal
Temple Street
Jalpaiguri - 735 101

This photocopy is being sent to
Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India as Enclosure to letter dated:
JALPAIGURI, JULY 13, 1994.

S. Sanyal.
S. SANYAL, 13. 07. 1994.



H. Y. SHARADA PRASAD
Information Adviser

No. 7mi-13148

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
नई दिल्ली 110 011
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
NEW DELHI 110 011

November 22, 1986

Dear Sir,

Thank for your letter of 19 November 1986. I am hesitant to reply to it because you might characterise my reply also as not respectful enough towards you. However, I must do my duty. I would also add that since Freedom Fighters' pensions are looked after by Ministry of Home Affairs, the instructions to us are that any communication received in that regard should be promptly brought to the notice of the Ministry of Home Affairs. These matters should be promptly brought to the notice of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

As regards the TV serial "Raj Se Swaraj", the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, Shri Ajit Panja, has already made a statement in Parliament, expressing profound regret for the scenes which have hurt the feelings of large number of people and has ordered the stoppage of further screening of that film. A large number of people and has ordered the stoppage of further screening of that film.

Yours faithfully,

Shri Sankar Senpai
Temple Street
Jalpaiguri - 735101

This photocopy is being sent to

Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India, North Block, NEW DELHI 110001 as Enclosure to letter dated, Jalpaiguri, JULY 13, 1994.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL, 13. 07. 1994.

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No.4/31/00 - FF (P)
Government of India/Bharat Sarkar
Ministry of Home Affairs/Grih Mantralaya
....

Lok Nayak Bhawan,
New Delhi-110 003.

Dated the 16.5.88

16 MAY 1988

To

✓ Shri Sankar Sanyal,
L/3 - Moore Avenue,
Govt. Housing Estate,
Calcutta - 700 040.

Subject :- Swatantrata Sainik Samman Pension Scheme.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letters dated 11.8.07 & 11.9.87 received through P.M.'s office on the subject mentioned above and to say that the matter of enhancement of pension is under consideration. The matter of bringing ashes of Netaji from Tokyo concerns Ministry of External Affairs to whom these papers are being forwarded for necessary action.

Yours faithfully,

(H.S. GABA)
UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA.

This photocopy is being sent to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India, North Block, New Delhi - 110001 as Enclosure to letter dated, JALPAIGURI, the 13 JULY, 1994.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL. 13. 07. 1994.



1294/101(K)/FY

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13 OCT 1998

With the Compliments of
MINISTER OF STATE FOR

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (K)
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

To

Minister of State for Home Affairs,
New Delhi.

Sub:

Application from Shri S. Sanyal, Temple Street
Jalpaiguri, regarding fake ashes of Netaji
Subhas Chandra Bose at Renkoji Temple.

This photocopy is being sent to Shri S.B.
Chavan, Home Minister, India, North Block,
NEW DELHI-110001 as ENCLOSURE to letter dated,
JALPAIGURI, the 13th July, 1994.

S. Sanyal.
S. SANYAL. 13. 07. 1994.

J. Sanyal,
Sankar Sanyal.

9/8/88.

৫০ বছর আগেকার মৃতদের স্মরণে

আজকের দিনেই বোম্বাইতে ঘটেছিল জাহাজ-বিস্ফোরণ

বোম্বাই, ১৩ এপ্রিল (ইউ এন আই): আজ সেই দিন। বোম্বাইতে সেবারও ঘটেছিল এক ভয়াবহ বিস্ফোরণ। পঞ্চাশ বছর আগেকার সে বিস্ফোরণের কথা এখন আর কেউ মনে রাখতেও চায় না। তবু যে অসংখ্য মানুষ সেদিন বিস্ফোরণে মারা গিয়েছিলেন তাঁদের কথা জো ভোলার নয়। আজ তাঁদের পঞ্চাশতম মৃত্যুবার্ষিকীও বটে।

বোম্বাই বন্দরে ওই বিস্ফোরণ ঘটেছিল। অবশ্য বন্দরে বলতে দুর্বিনী ঘটেছিল নোঙর করা একটি জাহাজে। ১৪ এপ্রিল ১৯৪৪ সালের সেই ঘটনা সম্পর্কে পরদিন বোম্বে গেজেটিয়ারে খবর কেবল মৃত্যু হয়েছে ৩০০ জনেরও বেশি মানুষের। আহত হয়েছিলেন বহু। কিন্তু পরের বছর ফেব্রুয়ারি মাসে কতিপয়দের জন্য মৃতদের আত্মীয়স্বজনকে নাম বিতে বলা হয়েছিল। তখন দেখা গিয়েছিল ৩০৮৩ জনের নাম জমা পড়েছে।

১৯৪৪ সালের ১৪ এপ্রিল ছিল বোম্বাইয়ের জীবনে এক কালো দিন। বিকালবেলা ডাকের ওপর ছোটখাট একটি আতন লাগে। সেই আতনই ক্যাপ্টেন বিস্ফোরণের কারণ হয় এসে এসে স্টাইকিন নামে একটি জাহাজে। জাহাজে ছিল ১৬৮ টন বিস্ফোরকসহ বহু জিনিস। জাহাজের ক্যাটেন এবং চিফ অফিসারের পরীয়ে কোনও অংশই বুজে পাওয়া যায়নি। এ অবস্থা ঘটেছিল আরও অনেকের।

এস এস স্টাইকিন জাহাজটি কানাডার তৈরি হয়েছিল ১৯৪২ সালে। পরে এটি মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের হাতে আসে। মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র তা ব্রিটেনকে দেয় উপহার হিসাবে। এস এস স্টাইকিন আরও ১৯ টি জাহাজের সার বেঁধে ছাড়ে বার্কেনহেড থেকে। এতে ছিল শেল, টর্পেডো, বিস্ফোরক, বোমা ইত্যাদি। প্রায় ১৩১৫ টন ওজনের মাল। তখন দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধ চলছিল। যুদ্ধের সময় মিশ্রপক্ষের সেনাগুলি ঠিক করেছিল কোনও জাহাজ কোথাও পাঠানো হয় তাহলে তা পুরো ভাঙি করে পাঠাতে হবে। সে কারণে এস এস স্টাইকিনও আগাগোড়া বোম্বাই করা হয়েছিল ছাড়ার সময় থেকেই।

৩০ মার্চ জাহাজটি করাচি পৌঁছয়। সেখানে বেশ কিছু মাল নামানো হয়। তিনদিন পর জাহাজে তৈলা হয় ৪১০০ বেল তুলা। তার ওজন হবে প্রায় ৭৬১ টন। তাছাড়া ছিল কাঠ, ক্রাপ লোহা, পুরনো ডায়নামো এবং বেশ কিছু ওয়ারলেস সেট। সব কিছুর ওপরে রাখা ছিল একগাদা তেরপলা। পরে জানা গেছে, জাহাজে আগে থেকে রাখা ছিল লুটিকেটিং ভেলের ১০৮১ টি ছোট ড্রাম।

সাইকেল হারউইক 'অনসলভড মার্ডারস অ্যান্ড মিস্ট্রিজ' নামে একটি লেখা লিখেছেন। তাতে এ ব্যাপারে বহু তথ্য দেবার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। তিনিই বলেছেন জাহাজে বিস্ফোরক ইত্যাদি ছাড়া একটি সিঁদের ট্যাংক রাখা ছিল ১২৪ টি সেনার বাট। যার নাম প্রায় ১০ লাখ পাউন্ড।

ক্যাটেন আসলকজাতীয় নইনিং অবশ্য

এসব জিনিস জাহাজে তুলতে আপত্তি করেছিলেন। কিন্তু সে আপত্তিতে কান দেয়নি কেউ। জাহাজটি বোম্বাই ডকে এসে নোঙর করে। ১৪ এপ্রিল মধ্যাহ্ন ভোজনের সময় নিশদ ঘটে। নানা ধরনের বিস্ফোরক এবং জ্বালানি রয়েছে বলে অতিজনকে সেখানে পাহারায় রাখা হয়। তার মধ্যে ছিল অসামরিক ব্যক্তি, দু'জন নাবিক। দুপক্ষেরই কেমন করে ঘন ঘরপা হয়েছিল জাহাজের সময় তাদের ছুটি। ফলে দুপক্ষই সেখান থেকে চলে যায় ওই সব বিস্ফোরক ফেলে রাখে।

যদিচানেক পরে হঠাৎ জাহাজেরই কয়েকজন কর্মচারী দেখলেন এস এস স্টাইকিনে ভেটিংলটের দিয়ে ধোয়ার কুণ্ডলী পাকিরে পাকিরে উঠছে। তারা কিন্তু ব্যাপারটার অত গুরুত্ব দেয়নি। কিন্তু দুপুর দেড়টা নাগাদ একই ভাবে ধোয়া বেরতে দেখে তারা চিংকার চেঁচামেচি করতে থাকেন। খবর যায় দমকলে। দমকলের প্রধান নরহান কুমস নিজে ছুটে আসেন ঘটনাস্থলে। কিন্তু শেষ রক্ষা করতে পারেনি। আশ্চর্য ক্রমে বাড়তে থাকলে তিনি নিজেই দমকল কর্মীদের জাহাজ ছেড়ে চলে আসতে বললেন।

এর কিছু পরেই হঠাৎ এক জাহাজকার আতন মাস্তুল ছাড়িয়ে ওপরে উঠে যায়। সে সময় ক্যাটেন তার লোকজনকে নিয়ে নেমে আসার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে ফেলেন। ততক্ষণে অনেক ঘেরি হয়ে গেছে। তেনরকম সুযোগ না দিয়ে জাহাজটি এক বিস্ফোরণে সহস্র ভাগে ভাগ হয়ে ছড়িয়ে পড়ে সমুদ্রের জলে। মুহূর্তমাত্রে নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়ে যায় আশপাশের সব কিছু। সব কিছু বলতে পুরো পরিবেশ। বহু মানুষও নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়ে যান সেই সঙ্গে।

BARTAMAN 14 APRIL 1994

This photocopy of the News Item date line, Bombay, UNI APRIL 13 (1994) regarding the Book: "Unsolved Murder and Mistris" at Bombay Port in the year APRIL 14, 1994 fifty years back apropos of my invlovement in the OCCULT CAUSE of EXPLOSION of British Marchant Navy prelude to Naval Rattting of 1946 in the cause of our Struggle Against British Imperialism and which would be revealed in accordance with the Secred Vow taken and which had been spelt out in an Open Telegram dated, Jalpaiguri, the 3rd AUGUST, 1976 to erstwhile Prime Minister, India, - ~~Shrim~~ late Shrimati Indira Gandhi and mentioned in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri, MAY 03, 1994 is now being sent to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, India North Block, NEW DELHI-110001 as Enclosure.

S. Sanyal,

S. SANYAL. Dt.13.07.1994.

The Statesman

Incorporating and directly descended from
THE FRIEND OF INDIA — Founded 1818
Published Simultaneously from CALCUTTA and DELHI

MAY 20, 1994

Vol. CXXVIII No. 118

নেতাজিকে অবমাননা

পি ভি নরসিমা রাও প্রধানমন্ত্রীর পাশ
অনুকৃত করার পর থেকেই একটা জিনিস
লক্ষ করা যাচ্ছে যে তাঁর সরকার যেন কোন
প্রকারে নেতাজি সুভাষচন্দ্র বসুকে হেতু
প্রতিপন্ন করতে চাইছে। প্রথমত তাঁর সরকার
নেতাজিকে মরণোত্তর ভারতবর্ষে কবিত
করতে চাইলেন এবং করলেন। কিন্তু তিনি যে
ইহলোকে নেই সেটা এখনও পরিষ্কার নয়।
তাহাড়া হীরকখণ্ডকে নতুন করে হীরক উপাধি
দেওয়া যেমন অর্থহীন, ভারতের অন্যতম
শ্রেষ্ঠ ব্রাহ্মকে ভারতবর্ষ উপাধি দেওয়াও
অর্থহীনের কাজ। দ্বিতীয়ত, মণিপুরে জাপান
সরকারকে আজ্ঞা দিচ্ছে বাহিনীর নির্দিষ্ট
জমিতে জাপানি সৈনিকদের জন্য শ্মশান
স্থাপনের অনুমতি প্রদান, যেটা ইন্দিরা বা
রাষ্ট্রবর্ষ করেননি। তৃতীয়ত, মণিপুরে
উগ্রপন্থীরা যখন নেতাজির মূর্তি ভেঙে দিল
সরকার তার বিরুদ্ধে উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা নিল না।
সর্বশেষ প্রচেষ্টা চলছে জাপান থেকে তাঁর
চিত্তাভ্রম্য আনার। কিন্তু নেতাজী যে মারা
গেছেন তার প্রমাণ কি সরকার দিতে
পারবেন? স্বাধীনতার জন্য ওই বীর সেনানী
তাঁর অসমসাহসী নান্দিকতার যে পরিচয়
দিয়েছেন তার উদাহরণ কি ভারতে খুব বেশি
পাওয়া গেছে। আজ স্বাধীন ভারতে তাঁর
উত্তরসূর্য উপযুক্ত প্রতিদান দিচ্ছে বটে।
জ্যোতিপ্রকাশ চ্যাটার্জি
নবীরা।

বর্তমান ১০ জুন ১৯৯৪

NETAJI'S ASHES

Sir, — Jawaharlal Nehru is said to have once told Mr Amiyanath Bose that it would be most appropriate if he carried the urn containing his uncle Subhas Chandra Bose's ashes to India from the Renkoji temple. Amiyanath had insisted the urn be opened at Renkoji in Nehru's presence to check what it contained. Nehru reportedly recoiled from the suggestion.

The story usually given out is that Netaji died on August 18, 1945, in a plane crash at Taihoku. It has been established subsequently that the crash never took place. The American Marines had already landed there on that date. There is no evidence of anyone being cremated anywhere in Taihoku, between August 18 and 22, except one Ochiyo Ikura (29) at the Taihoku crematorium.

I had asked General Fujiwara and some Japanese officers in Calcutta a few years ago, on the occasion of Netaji's birth anniversary, whether he or anyone he knew had seen the actual cremation. If so, when? And who collected the ashes? The answer was a clear "No".

Having been privileged to check official records brought from Taihoku, as counsel on behalf of Netaji's elder brother Suresh Chandra Bose and his nephew Dwijendra Nath Bose, in proceedings before the Khosla Commission, I acquired first-hand knowledge of those crucial facts. The ashes in Renkoji temple are not and could never be that of Netaji. Morarji Desai, as Prime Minister of India, had also declared on the floor of the Lok Sabha that Netaji's death story was unacceptable. — Yours, etc., NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR.

Calcutta, May 13.

These two news item's photocopies in Bengali and in English apropos of "brining fake ashes from Japan of Netaji Subhas" and the Resentments of the Freedom Fighters as stated in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri, MAY 03, 1994 ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India, is now being sent to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, Govt. of India, North Block, NEW DELHI - 110001 as ENCLOSURE to the letter dated, JALPAIGURI, the 13th JULY, 1994.

S. Sanial

S. SANIAL. 13. 07. 1994.

DRAFT

R.L. BHATIA,
MINISTER OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

July 13th, 94

My dear

Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister for External Affairs had already written to Shri Samar Guha, vide his letter of 25th May, 1993 (copy enclosed), explaining the efforts made by this Ministry. We have not received any further information and would request that in case any additional material, which is conclusive, is available with you, ^{it} may be supplied to us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

MOS (RLB)

PA
Shri Pramod Mahajan, M.P.
Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee
on Transport and Tourism,
Parliament House Annexe,
New Delhi.

@@

Copy to : Shri Samar Guha, former M.P.

MOS(RLB))



(138)

राज्य मन्त्री
विदेश मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली-110011
MINISTER OF STATE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

No 1413/MOS(R)/11/1/94

15 July, 1994

My dear Shri Mahajan

Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister for External Affairs had already written to Shri Samar Guha, vide his letter of 25th May, 1993 (copy enclosed), explaining the efforts made by this Ministry. We have not received any further information and would request that in case any additional material, which is conclusive, is available with you, it may be supplied to us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(R.L. Bhatia)

OL

Shri Pramod Mahajan,
Member of Parliament,
Chairman,
Parliamentary Standing Committee
on Transport and Tourism,
Parliament House Annexe,
New Delhi

Copy to:-

1. Shri Samar Guha, former M.P.

(16) (139)

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19/7/94

~~SECRET~~

MOST IMMEDIATE

COPY NO. 6

No. 89/2/1/94-TS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (BHARAT SARKAR)
CABINET SECRETARIAT (MANTRIMANDAL SACHIVALAYA)
RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN.

New Delhi, the 18th July, 1994.

.....

A meeting of the Core Group will be held at 3.00 P.M. on Wednesday, the 20th July, 1994, in the Committee Room of the Cabinet Secretariat, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi.

2. The following subject will be discussed in the meeting:-

Controversy about Netaji's death and allegations that he was an MI-6 agent.

(Doc.No. CD(TS)-102/94 already circulated vide this Secretariat O.M.No. 50/4/1/94-TS dated 30.6.1994).

3. Kindly make it convenient to attend the meeting.

*Discussions took place today. Minutes will follow
18/7/94*

Sheila Sangwan
(Sheila Sangwan)
Director.

To

JSAP

- Shri A.N. Varma, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister.
- Shri A.S. Syali, Secretary(R), Cabinet Secretariat.
- Shri K.N. Daruwalla, Chairman, JIC, Cabinet Secretariat.
- Shri K.A. Nambiar, Defence Secretary.
- *Shri M.S. Ahluwalia, Finance Secretary.
- Shri K. Srinivasan, Foreign Secretary.
- Shri K. Padmanabhaiah, Home Secretary.
- Shri V.G. Vaidya, Director, Intelligence Bureau.

.....

*Doc.No. CD(TS)-102/94 - attached.

Internal circulation.
CS/AS/JS(M)/Dir(SSN)

SECRET

C.P.R.
14 copies.

15 140
Most Immediate/Court Case

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Reference is invited to MHA I.D.No. 1/27/91-Public dated 1.8.84 from JS (Admn.) to JS (Coord) in NEA regarding relevant records related to Shah Nawaz Khan Committee pertaining to Netaji Inquiry Commission in 1956. As per our records, we have the following files and material available in our Division which have very archival and sensitive value and therefore are available only for consultations except in exceptional circumstances.

1. C/551/5/72-JP Part III
Netaji Inquiry Commission Under the Chairmanship of Minister Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, in 1956
2. F/14(13)/FEA/56 Annexure
Report of the Shah Nawaz Committee
3. F.14(13)/FEA/56 Annexure, Copy No. 2
Netaji Inquiry Committee Report Part B
(Evidence of Witnesses) 1956
4. A copy of the D.O. letter 24.16.73-Poll.II dated 24.9.73 sent by Shri Ashok Gupta, US, Ministry of Home Affairs to Shri V.K. Nambiar, US (FE) in Ministry of External Affairs conveying that some more relevant records and papers regarding Shah Nawaz Inquiry into circumstances leading to alleged death of Netaji have been sent to Ministry of Home Affairs and have not been returned so far to this Ministry. These reports seemingly are still with the MHA.

May please see.

Y. Varma
(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (Asia Pacific)

o/c
Mr. M.P. Bhatia
Under Secretary, MHA

NEA U.O. Note No.

8587/

dated 03.08.84

Recd.
lm
3/8
5.55 pm

(7) (16) (141)

ASHIS C. RAY

F-162 Malcha Marg
New Delhi - 110021.
Phone: 301 3520

7 September, 1994.

Dear Foreign Secretary,

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a note I submitted to the PM and Arjun Singh, following a suggestion from the latter that I should do something to try and bring the "ashes" at Tokyo's Renkoji temple - said to be Netaji's - back to India.

In fact, I received a very encouraging reply to my memo from Amar Nath Varma, a photocopy of which is being sent with this as well.

Incidentally, I have kept Prakash Shah and Ranjit Kalha posted on the matter.

Your kind interest is most heartening. I should like to emphasise that I seek no credit or publicity on the issue either now or later. It would, however, give me enormous satisfaction if we could silently and skillfully clear up the "mystery" once and for all.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the long term planning and implementation you have introduced as Foreign Secretary. It is a pleasure to observe your stewardship of the MEA. And I wish you continued success.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Asis C.

Mr Kris Srinivasan
Foreign Secretary
Government of India
3 Circular Road
New Delhi.



A. N. Varma
Principal Secretary

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प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
नई दिल्ली-110 011
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
NEW DELHI-110 011

August 8, 1994

No. 870/11/P/10/93-Pol

Dear Ashis,

Thank you for your letter of August 1, 1994 about your recent studies pertaining to Netaji.

2. I appreciate the detailed note on the subject of Netaji's ashes you have enclosed with your letter, and the particular facts you have highlighted shall be examined. In the meanwhile, I appreciate the constructive approach to the subject you have outlined, and this shall certainly receive full consideration. We shall pursue the matter and will be in touch.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

(A.N. Varma)

Shri Ashis C. Ray,
F-162, Malcha Marg,
Chanakyapuri,
NEW DELHI-110021

143
ASHIS C. RAY

1 August, 1994.

Dear Mr Varma,

Enclosed herewith is a MEMO on the subject of "ASHES" said to be the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am interested in this matter because Netaji was my great uncle, my grand-father, Sarat Chandra Bose's younger brother.

Sadly, for 49 years, neither the family nor the people or government of India has managed to indisputably establish what happened to him. Netaji's wife, Emilie Schenkl and only child, Anita Pfaff live in Germany, and while not unconcerned, are hesitant to do anything one way or other, lest it hurts Indian sentiments. My uncles and aunts, not to mention my mother, have either grown weary in their attempt to do something or as in the case of a few, have chosen to have a closed mind on the issue. In these circumstances, I may be among very few relatives of Netaji still left with the energy and inclination to pursue the subject.

For several years, now, I have tried to carefully study the concerned subject. If I had been able to devote my entire time to it, I would, probably, have found a solution. But my labours may have, at least, given me an insight into what needs to be done to produce a framework acceptable to all concerned. It is not an impossible task; and given the present Indian leadership, can be accomplished without too much difficulty.

As part of my private effort to get to the bottom of the affair and at the same time pave the way for the return of the "ashes" to India, if they are indeed Netaji's, I recently visited Tokyo. There, I met senior officials of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, academics involved in the study of Netaji and his activities and his former associates. Based on these and my discussions with the Indian Ambassador in Japan, Prakash Shah, I have prepared the mentioned memo.

I should, in fact, like to particularly thank Mr Shah for the co-operation and good advice extended by him.

Senior cabinet ministers have suggested that I should seek an appointment with the Prime Minister on the matter. I felt I should apprise you of it before doing so; and in any case, would be pleased if you were present at such a meeting, if this is alright with you.

(144)

The court case, cited in the memo, is already underway. Therefore, there may be a slight urgency in dealing with it. Please let me have your reaction.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Mr A. N. Varma
Principal Secretary to
the Prime Minister
Lodi Estate
New Delhi.



3277/JS(4P)/94
 विदेश सचिव 12.9.
 विदेश मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली-110011
 FOREIGN SECRETARY
 MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
 NEW DELHI-110011

No. 15479 - FS/94

September 10, 1994

Dear Mr. Ray,

Many thanks for your letter of September 7, 1994. I am certainly much taken by your approach in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

(K. Srinivasan)

Shri Ashis C. Ray,
 F-162 Malcha Marg,
New Delhi-110021

- ① He basically made 6 points. Could I have your view on these?
- ② Ref. Sri S's letter. Do we know who is doing the 'examining'?
- kindly reach 11/11/94

20/AP

Discussed with F.S.
 Pl file

Dis (AP)

28/9

28/9

28/9



R.S. KALHA,
JOINT SECRETARY (AP)

~~SECRET~~/MOST IMMEDIATE

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

Sept. 16th, 1994

My dear Prakash,

Shri Ashish Ray, CNN Correspondent here, has written to the Foreign Secretary to state that in 1956 Japanese Government investigated and confirmed Netaji's death, following the air crash. He has also stated that this report was handed over to the Government and exists in the files of the Embassy of India in Tokyo. Grateful if you could let us know if such a report exists and if you could send us a copy.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

(R.S. Kalha)

Shri Prakash Shah,
Ambassador of India,
Tokyo.

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SLUG	WRITER	DAY/DATE/TIME	REV. BY	ON	STATUS	TIME
NETAJI'S "ASHES"	Delhi	Mon Jul 25 11:57	Delhi	Aug 01 15:33	READY	7:28

PREAMBLE

As is well known, ashes, said to be the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, have been kept at Tokyo's Renko-ji temple since 1945. These have been preserved with due care and respect by a succession of head priests of the temple. It is most commendable that the Government of India has, over the years, albeit unofficially, assisted this work.

While shouldering an onerous responsibility, the priests in question have never complained about this nor have they ever created any pressure to be relieved of the same. However, the present head priest of the temple, like his predecessor, feels that it is only appropriate that the "ashes" return to India and this is also the unanimous view of remaining Japanese associates of Netaji.

If the "ashes" do indeed belong to Netaji, then, perhaps, every effort should be made to bring them back to India. And with the highest possible honour.

For this to happen, those who disbelieve the story of his death in a plane crash - namely a few members of the Bose family (most of whom think otherwise), the Forward Bloc and some diehard individuals - need to be convinced to the contrary.

And all legal hurdles to transfer of the "ashes" to Indian soil need to be removed.

23 January, 1997 will mark Netaji's birth centenary. It would be a feather in the central government's cap if the "ashes" arrive in India on 23 January, 1996, and are, if desired, taken around the country during the centenary year before being dealt with as the family wishes.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

The opposition to the plane crash story is not entirely unreasonable. As per this incident, Netaji died in unusual circumstances, there is no photographic record of his dead body. And the "cremation certificate" claimed to relate to the last rites is in the name of a Japanese national, described as a member of the armed forces and whose birth date is different from Netaji's.

Such discrepancy was attempted to be explained away by the Japanese government as reflective of a need to maintain secrecy about Netaji's death. Yet, it was Japan which released to the world the news of the air crash.

The reported accident - on 18 August, 1945 - took place only days after Japan's surrender in World War II. It is understandable that the Japanese were still

shocked by the turn of events and there was utter confusion and a complete lack of co-ordination among them. And it is quite possible that while Tokyo was making public news of Netaji's death, Japanese officials in Taihoku, in the absence of any instruction, thought it prudent to keep the matter confidential.

→ A CREDIBLE AND DETAILED EXPLANATION FROM JAPANESE AUTHORITIES AS TO WHY THE CREMATION CERTIFICATE WAS NOT IN NETAJI'S NAME IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY. (148)

Indeed, a comprehensive statement, ideally by the Japanese Prime Minister, to clear the foggy atmosphere of the past 49 years may be most helpful. The Japanese government is likely to oblige. Japanese leaders, in recent times, have made a habit of apologising to Asian countries for treatment meted out to them during Japanese occupation of these nations during World War II. While Japan did not commit any crime against India, the post-war confusion resulting in a lack of a clear cut statement on the Netaji affair has, arguably, contributed to the deadlock over the "ashes".

For 11 years after the purported disaster, Japan made no effort to produce an official report on what happened. This led to unchecked speculation. On the one hand, the plane crash was dismissed - notably by the British - as just the thing Netaji would do to escape the clutches of the Anglo-Americans, and on the other, various theories emerged about his whereabouts.

Besides, pro-Netaji elements were skeptical of Pandit Nehru and his motives. They rejected the findings of the Inquiry Committee headed by Shah Nawaz Khan in 1956. (It would be fair to say that this probe was not conducted in a professional manner.) And also found unacceptable the conclusions of the Khosla Commission - in the 1970s - as they unnecessarily went beyond its brief by making political statements in favour of the Nehru-Gandhis and against Netaji.

2 However, in 1956, the Japanese government investigated and confirmed Netaji's death following the crash. And handed over this report to the Indian government. THE SAME DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MADE PUBLIC TILL DATE. Copies of the report exist in files at both the Ministry of External Affairs and the Indian Embassy in Tokyo. They are marked "TOP SECRET". Yet, no harm could ever have come from publicising this as well as some other documents similarly classified. The skeptics will find it difficult to accuse the Japanese of an ulterior motive or a vested interest. Release of the report and related papers can, therefore, only have a very positive impact in persuading them to reconcile themselves to reality.

Does this exist? If checked, let me know.

3 It is equally important to obtain from Russian authorities that Netaji never visited the Soviet Union after 18 August, 1945, if this is indeed the case. Opponents of the plane crash story believe that Netaji slipped away to the Soviet Union. It is true that he had planned to do so. But this was cut short by his seemingly premature death.

4 Moreover, a clarification is required from the British government on its stand until at least the late 1940s that Netaji did not die in the plane crash. (The chances are that Whitehall at some stage altered this view.)

5 Colonel Habibur Rahman, Netaji's ADC, who survived the crash, told his son, Naeemur, who now lives in Islamabad, that the aircraft failure was caused by SABOTAGE by Chinese technicians (hostile towards the Japanese, not Netaji - several senior Japanese military officers were on the flight) at Taihoku airport - this is new information, never mentioned by the former in his deposition to the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 - and that he placed a gold plated tooth belonging to Netaji in the urn containing the ashes when this was handed to him after the cremation in Taihoku - this, too, he had not made public before. A serious endeavour to get to the bottom of the "mystery" could include doing a simple X-ray of the urn. If the tooth is indeed there, the X-ray would be invaluable in terms of determining if the tooth matches with Netaji's dental records. The existence of the tooth would also help to increase Habibur Rahman's credibility, sometimes questioned.

A sincere presentation of the new evidence, is likely to create a favourable public opinion. The principal person in the Bose family still challenging the crash story, Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, needs to be brought around by the Prime Minister himself - there is a good chance that if reasonably approached, he will drop his opposition. It is desirable that agreement regarding bringing the "ashes" is secured from Netaji's wife and daughter, both residing in Augsburg, Germany. This is best done through Dr Sisir Bose, another nephew of Netaji. The Forward Bloc can be tackled by Jyoti Basu, who successfully made it do a volte face on Teen Bigha and can, most probably, do it again. (149)

6. But no progress can be made unless there is an irreversible judgement from the Supreme Court authorising the return of the "ashes". Government could take the initiative in the matter. There is already a case before the Chief Justice petitioning how Netaji could have been given the Bharat Ratna "posthumously". GOVERNMENT COULD SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO COMBINE ALL RELATED CASES PENDING IN ANY COURT IN THE COUNTRY, SEEK TIME TO COLLECT ALL "NEW EVIDENCE" OR MOVE THE MATTER SEPARATELY BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT TO DO AWAY WITH LEGAL IMPEDIMENTS ONCE AND FOR ALL.

In fighting the above case, it may be relevant to bear in mind that in September 1978, Morarjee Desai, as Prime Minister, made a statement in the Lok Sabha, effectively rejecting the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission.

END

PREAMBLE

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The reported accident - on 18 August, 1945 - took place only days after Japan's surrender in World War II. It is understandable that the Japanese were shell shocked by the turn of events and there was utter confusion and a complete lack of co-ordination among them. And it is quite possible that while Tokyo was making public news of Netaji's death, Japanese officials in Taihoku, in the absence of any instruction, thought it prudent to keep the matter confidential.

A CREDIBLE AND DETAILED EXPLANATION FROM JAPANESE AUTHORITIES AS TO WHY THE CREMATION CERTIFICATE WAS NOT IN NETAJI'S NAME IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY.

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For 11 years after the purported disaster, Japan made no effort to produce an official report on what happened. This led to unchecked speculation. On the one hand, the plane crash was dismissed - notably by the British - as just the thing Netaji would do to escape the clutches of the Anglo-Americans, and on the other, various theories emerged about his whereabouts.

Besides, pro-Netaji elements were skeptical of Pandit Nehru and his motives. They rejected the findings of the Inquiry Committee headed by Shah Nawaz Khan in 1956. (It would be fair to say that this probe was not conducted in a professional manner.) And also found unacceptable the conclusions of the Khosla Commission - in the 1970s - as they unnecessarily went beyond its brief by making political statements in favour of the Nehru-Gandhis and against Netaji.

However, in 1956, the Japanese government investigated and confirmed Netaji's death following the crash. And handed over this report to the Indian government. THE SAME DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MADE PUBLIC TILL DATE. Copies of the report exist in files at both the Ministry of External Affairs and the Indian Embassy in Tokyo. They are marked "TOP SECRET". Yet, no harm could ever have come from publicising this as well as some other documents similarly classified. The skeptics will find it difficult to accuse the Japanese of an ulterior motive or a vested interest. Release of the report and related papers can, therefore, only have a very positive impact in persuading them to reconcile themselves to reality.

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Moreover, a clarification is required from the British government on its stand until at least the late 1940s that Netaji did not die in the plane crash. (The chances are that Whitehall at some stage altered this view.)

Colonel Habibur Rahman, Netaji's ADC, who survived the crash, told his son, Naeemur, who now lives in Islamabad, that the aircraft failure was caused by SABOTAGE by Chinese technicians (hostile towards the Japanese, not Netaji - several senior Japanese military officers were on the flight) at Taihoku airport - this is new information, never mentioned by the former in his deposition to the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 - and that he placed a gold plated tooth belonging to Netaji in the urn containing the ashes when this was handed to him after the cremation in Taihoku - this, too, he had not made public before. A serious endeavour to get to the bottom of the "mystery" could include doing a simple X-ray of the urn. If the tooth is indeed there, the X-ray would be invaluable in terms of determining if the tooth matches with Netaji's dental records. The existence of the tooth would also help to increase Habibur Rahman's credibility, sometimes questioned.

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THE SUPREME COURT TO DO AWAY WITH LEGAL

(13)

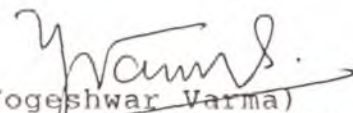
(15)

~~SECRET~~

C/551/12/93-JP

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

As desired by JS (AP), placed below is the position as per the records available with Asia Pacific Division, on the 6 issues raised by Shri Ashish Ray in his letter to FS regarding Netaji's death.


(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (Asia Pacific)
20.09.94

JS (AP)

dc

(12)

~~SECRET~~

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

The records available in the Ministry (including NGO section) on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and his death have been scrutinised. The position, as per records, as regards 6 issues raised raised by Shri Ashis Ray in his letter to Foreign Secretary is given below.

1. A credible and Detailed explanation from Japanese Authorities as to why the cremation certificate was not in Netaji's name is necessary.

(Contention of Shri Ashis Ray)

Position as per our records.

There is no information on this issue available in the records. This aspect has also never been raised before by the Japanese side.

2. Report of investigation carried out by Japanese Government in 1956 according to which the death of Netaji was confirmed and the report was handed over to the Indian Government a copy of which exists in files at both the Ministry of External Affairs and in the Indian Embassy, Tokyo.

(Contention of Shri Ashis Ray)

Position as per our records.

This report is not available among the records on the subject available with the Ministry of External Affairs. Our mission in Tokyo has also been approached last week who have also been requested to confirm if they possess a copy of this report.

3. To obtain from Russian authorities, information that Netaji never visited Soviet Union after August 18, 1945 if this is indeed the case.

(Contention of Shri Ashis Ray)

Position as per our records.

Ministry of External Affairs and the Russian federation vide its note No. 2/YUA dated January 8, 1992 addressed to Embassy of India, Moscow, has confirmed in reply to Embassy of India Moscow's Note Verbale of September 16, 1991 to the Russian Government though as per the record available in the Central and Republican Archives, there is no information about the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in Soviet Union in 1945 and after that. (Flag 1 in our file No. C/551/7/92-JP)

4. A clarification is required from the British Government on its stand until atleast the late 1940's that Netaji did not die in the plane crash.

(Contention of Shri Ashis Ray)

Position as per our records.

There is nothing in the records available with the Asia Pacific Division in which there is any information on this issue, however Professor Samar Guha has made the stand of the British Government in late 1940's a major issue of his contention by which he pours scorn and dis-belief on the conclusion arrived at in the two Inquiry Commissions namely Shah Nawaz Khan (1956) and Justice Khosla Enquiry Commission (1970-74). It may be pertaining to reproduce here the contention of Professor Samar Guha which is being reproduce from his booklet "Country Must Know What Happened To Netaji" on page 2 which however needs to be kept in mind that it is the view of Professor Samar Guha and pertaining to which Asia Pacific Division does not have any records.

....."What was the further reaction of Lord Wavell, India's Viceroy in 1945-46? A month after the record of his first reaction he noted again in his 'Diary' : 'According to the Japanese of Singapore, Subhash Chandra Bose is definitely dead, but I shall be skeptical till further confirmation.'

After hearing the Japanese broadcast on August 23, 1945, Lord Wavell immediately sent a mixed investigating team of the British and Indian experts to 'arrest Bose -dead or alive' and make a thorough probe into the whole affairs behind the Japanese story of Bose's death.

What was the findings of this Wavell team was not fully reported. but the British Government of India cryptically leaked out to the press that Bose died in the reported aircrash. However, dispatched to the Attlee Government in UK after 67 days of the reported aircrash by its Home Secretary, Mr. R.F. Mudie. It was marked "Top Secret" and this report was published 30 years after in "Volume VI" of the British document "Transfer of Power, 1942-47". In his lengthy report on Bose Mr. Mudie's confidential despatch noted inter-alia as regard the 'treatment of Bose' these were the following possibilities :

- (a) Bringing back to India and try him either for waging War or under the Enemy Agent Ordinance;
- (b) Have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malay for waging War against the King in that country;
- (c) Have him tried by a Military Court outside India;
- (d) Intern him in India;

(e) Intern him in some other British possessions, e.g., Seychelles islands;

(f) Leave him where he is and not ask for the surrender.

After analyzing all the eventualities about these alternatives the report concluded 'in many ways the easiest course will be to leave him where he is and not ask for his release. Of course, he might in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulty.'

Neither the Wavell Government of India nor the Attlee Government of U.K., after coming to the above conclusion, made any official confirmation about the reported death of Subhash Chandra Bose, though he was marked as the enemy number one of their Indian Empire. They deliberately kept silent about the report of Subhash Bose's presence in Russia.".....

(Extract of Page of the Booklet)
Flag 2 in the file C/551/7/92-JP

5. To subject the urn containing the ashes of Netaji to a simple x-ray in order to determine the reported gold plated tooth pertaining to Netaji lying in the urn. In order to establish the genuineness the ashes kept at Renkoji Temple, Japan.

(Contention of Shri Ashis Ray)

Position as per our records.

Our file C/551/7/92-JP has a chart containing contradictory statement of Colonel Habib Ur Rahman (accompanying Netaji at his bewidled flight till it crashed down) made to CSDIC. (Which is the brief acronym for the British Global Military Intelligence of the War Days) Report No 1156 dated 31.12.45 and statement made by Col Habib Ur Rahman at Shah Nawaz Khan Committee investigation on this (April 1956) Flag 3 The Serial No. M which gives the brief reproduction of Col. Rahman's statement pertaining to the Bose's gold tooth. CSDIC extract is :

...."On August 23, 1945, B.1269 in the Company of the cleric and staff major and 3 or 4 other Japanese visited the crematorium when the ashes of Bose were collected and placed in a wooden box specially made for the purpose, BK.1269 was shown a small piece of gold among the ashes which he believes was part of one of Bose's gold teeth. The box containing the ashes was then taken to a Japanese temple in the city, where a religious ceremony was again performed by the cleric.

On the morning of August 21, 1945, I went to the crematorium accompanied by two or three Japanese including the civilian and opened the lock of the incinerator with key which

was with me. I was present and I saw the ashes of Netaji's body inside it. We had a wooden urn to collect the ashes. We collected some ashes from the head side, nearest to the door, and placed them in the urn. I remember distinctly that a little piece of gold, which was from the filling of one of Netaji's teeth was removed and placed in the urn.".....

Col Rahman's statement before Shah Nawaz Committee is at Flag 3.

While no X ray or the urn has so far been conducted and no records therefore exist, the discrepancy in the date mentioned in the statement of Col Rahman in CSDIC report and in Shah Nawaz Committee report under this heading (as reproduced above) may also be noted which refers to dates being mentioned as divergent as August 23, 1945 and August 21, 1945.

6. To the option of irreversible judgement from the Supreme Court authorising return of the ashes, Government could take the initiative in the matter. There is already a case before the Chief Justice pertaining how Netaji could have been given the Bharat Ratna posthumously. Government could seize this opportunity to combine all related cases pending in any court in the country, seek time to collect all "new evidence" or move the matter separately before the Supreme Court to do away with legal impediments once and for all. There are no records which deals with the suggestion of seeking an irreversible decision from Supreme Court authorising return of the ashes. Records are however available pertaining to an objection filed in Calcutta High Court challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award given posthumously by Director, Legal & Treaties Division of this Ministry dated December 29, 1993, (Copy enclosed at Flag 4) which refers to presence of Secretary from MEA in the Calcutta High Court through his appointed counsel who represent the Ministry. It may however be also noted here (file C/551/12/93-JP) that GOI (as per press reports at flag 5) has revoked its decision to confer Bharat Ratna on Netaji in January 1994.

MEA/DIR (AP) /NETAJI/20.09.94

(156)

3458/JS(AP)/94 ~~SECRET~~
21/9/94

C/551/12/93-JP

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

As desired by JS (AP), placed below is the position as per the records available with Asia Pacific Division, on the 6 issues raised by Shri Ashish Ray in his letter to FS regarding Netaji's death.

Y. Varma
(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (Asia Pacific)
20.09.94

JS (AP)

Re type + p.u.

Re

PK.

14/28/9

So (AP) *30/8/94*
SKP

(152)

3458-JS(AP)/94
Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

20-9-94

✓ A credible and Detailed explanation from Japanese Authorities as to why the cremation certificate was not in Netaji's name is necessary.

(Contention of Shri Ashish Ray)

B

Position as per our records

There is no information on this issue available in the records. However, two enquiry committees in 1956 (Shah Nawaz) and 1970 (Khosla) examined a large number of files and 224 witnesses (including 100 abroad) and came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air-crash at Taihoku on 18th August, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the finding. The report of the Khosla Commission alongwith Memorandum of Action Taken, was laid on Table of both Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1974.

2. Report of investigation carried out by Japanese Government in 1956 according to which the death of Netaji was confirmed and the report was handed over to the Indian Government a copy of which exists in files at both the Ministry of External Affairs and in the Indian Embassy, Tokyo.

(Contention of Shri Ashish Ray)

Position as per our records

This report is not available among the records available with the Ministry of External Affairs. Our Mission in Tokyo has also been approached who have also been requested to confirm if they possess a copy of this report.

3. To obtain from Russian authorities. information that Netaji never visited Soviet Union after August 18, 1945 if this is indeed the case.

(Contention of Shri Ashish Ray)

Position as per our records

The Russian Federation vide its note No. 2/YUA dated January 8, 1992 addressed to Embassy of India,

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SECRET

-2-

Moscow, has confirmed in reply to Embassy of India Moscow's Note Verbale of September 16, 1991 to the Russian Government, that as per the records available in the Central and Republican Archives, there is no information about the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in Soviet Union in 1945 and after that.

4. A clarification is required from the British Government on its stand until at least the late 1940's that Netaji did not die in the plane crash.

(Contention of Shri Ashis Ray)

Position as per our records

There is nothing in records available with us.

5. To subject the urn containing the ashes of Netaji to a simple x-ray in order to determine the reported gold plated tooth pertaining to Netaji lying in the urn. In order to establish the genuineness the ashes kept at Renkoji Temple, Japan.

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Our file C/551/7/92-JP has a chart containing contradictory statement of Colonel Habib Ur Rahman (accompanying Netaji on his flight till it crashed.) made to CSDIC. (Which is the brief acronym for the British Global Military Intelligence of the War Days) Report No. 1156 dated 31.12.45 and statement made by Col Habib Ur Rahman at Shah Nawaz Khan Committee investigation on this (April 1956) Col. Rahman's statement pertaining to Netaji's gold tooth. CSDIC extract is :

May 3.

....."On August 23, 1945, B.1269 in the Company of the cleric and staff major and 3 or 4 other Japanese visited the crematorium when the ashes of Bose were collected and placed in a wooden box specially made for the purpose. BK:1269 was shown a small piece of gold among the ashes which he believes was part of one of Bose's gold teeth. The box containing the ashes was then taken to a Japanese temple in the city, where a religious ceremony was again performed by the cleric.

On the morning of August 21, 1945, I went to the crematorium accompanied by two or three Japanese including the civilian and opened the lock of the incinerator with key which was with me. I was present and I saw the ashes of Netaji's body inside it. We had a wooden urn to collect the ashes. We collected some ashes from the head side, nearest to the door, and placed them in the urn. I remember distinctly that a little piece of gold, which was from the filling of one of Netaji's teeth was removed and placed in the urn.".....

Col Rahman's statement before Shah Nawaz Committee is at Flag 3.

While no X ray of the urn has so far been conducted and no records therefore exist, the discrepancy in the date mentioned in the statement of Col Rahman in CSDIC report and in Shah Nawaz Committee report under this heading (as reproduced above) may also be noted which refers to dates being mentioned as divergent as August 23, 1945 and August 21, 1945.

6. To the option of irreversible judgement from the Supreme Court authorising return of the ashes, there is already a case before the Chief Justice pertaining how Netaji could have been given the Bharat Ratna posthumously. There are no records which deal with the suggestion of seeking an irreversible decision from Supreme Court authorising return of the ashes. Records are however available pertaining to an objection filed in Calcutta High Court challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award given posthumously. It may however be also noted here (file C/551/12/93-JP) that GOI (as per press reports at flag 5) has revoked its decision to confer Bharat Ratna on Netaji in January 1994.

7. CCPA approved on 27th February, 1991 proposal of MHA that "no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions".

JS(PMO) in his Note on 24/8/1992 stated "PM agrees that the inquiry into the question of whether Netaji is dead or alive or the circumstances of his disappearance, need not be re-opened".

Above reiterated in PMO letter of 15-12-92 that "circumstances of Netaji's disappearance need not be re-opened".



AMBASSADOR

~~SECRET~~

3661-JS(AP)/94
6/10
भारत का राजदूतावास, टोकियो
Embassy of India,
2-11, Kudan-Minami 2-chome,
Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102
Telex: 2324886 INDEMB J
Phone: 03(3262)2391
Fax: 03(3234)4866

No. TOK/102/2/92

September 27, 1994

Dear Ranjit,

Kindly refer to your letter No. 3379-JS(AP)/94 dated September 16, 1994 regarding Netaji's death. /F/A

In response to a query by the Embassy to the Gaimusho, the latter sent a letter dated July 24, 1956 informing that the cremation permit in the name of Mr. Okura is believed to be that of Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose. A copy of Gaimusho's letter dated July 24, 1956, as well as a copy of the death certificate of Mr. Ichiro Okura, is enclosed.

Respects.

Yours sincerely,

Prakash

(Prakash Shah)

Shri R.S. Kalha
Joint Secretary (AP)
Ministry of External Affairs
NEW DELHI

4/6.10

JS(AP)D.R.

Pe p.u. or file.

HA

11/10

JS(AP)

SO(AA)

4/24/94

skip
Secy

(161)

No.	Name of Disease	Date of Death Date of Permission Date of Cremation	Place of Burial & Cremation.	Occupation	Sex	Permanent Domicile Present address.	Name of Deceased	Date of Birth	Applicant Address Name
2640									
2641	Heart Attack	Aug.19,1945 Aug.21,1945 Aug.22,1945	088 Municipal Crematory	Non-regular staff member of Army Forces.	Male	No.1,2-Chome, Ichiro . Dogenzaka, Shibuya-ky, Tokyo. No.2,3-chome, Nog1-machi Taipei City	Okura	April 9, Unit 1900. No.21123	Taneyoshi Yoshimi

Examined and authenticated by
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

S E A L.

Sd/- Yasutoru Asahina
Secretary,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
(Archives Section).

It is certified that the above statement, abstracted
from the original document on cremation permit,
is correct and true.

July 14, 1956.

Bureau of Health & Hygiene,
Taipei Municipal Office. (Sealed)

156

-21- (62)

No 3902/JS (AP)/94.

R.S. KALHA
Joint Secretary (AP)

24th Oct .1994

Dear

Ref. our telephonic conversation today.

2. Please find enclosed copy of a letter from our Ambassador in Tokyo, along with its enclosures.

Yours sincerely,

(R.S. Kalha)



Mr. C. Phunsog,
Joint Secy (IS-I),
Ministry of Home Affairs,
North Block,
New Delhi.

July 24, 1956

Copy

✓ 8880
p. 141/c.

Dear Mr. Dar,

With reference to your letter No. F.5(1)NGO-I of May 30th, 1956, and my letter dated June 14th, 1956, I wish to inform you that the following reply has been received from Mr. K. Horiuchi, Ambassador of Japan at Taipei, to our enquiry made on this matter:

1. "Doctor's Report" and "Police Report" as mentioned in Mr. Dar's letter could not be traced at Taipei in spite of all efforts.
2. As to "Cremation Permit" a certified copy of the original document on cremation permit which is held by the Bureau of Health and Hygiene Taipei Municipal Office, could be obtained. The document mentions the name of ICHIRO OKURA as the deceased and that of TANEYOSHI YOSHIMI as the applicant. Since the death of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was kept strictly confidential at that time, it is believed that this cremation permit on ICHIRO OKURA must correspond to the case for late Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

Therefore, I wish to enclose herewith the above-mentioned copy of "Cremation Permit" together with its translation in English.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Hisaji Hattori

Chief of 4th Section
Asian Affairs Bureau
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. A.K. Dar,
First Secretary,
Embassy of India,
Tokyo.

S-414/S/E)95

2860/FS/95
16/2

MOST IMMEDIATE

COPY No. 7

No.6/CM/95(i)

Diary S-87

Date 22/2/95

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (BHARAT SARKAR)
CABINET SECRETARIAT (MANTRIMANDAL SACHIVALAYA)

NEW DELHI, the 15th February, 1995.

The undersigned is directed to circulate herewith the minutes of the meeting of the Cabinet held on 8th February, 1995. (Case Nos.40/6/95 to 45/6/95).

(D.M.M. Rao)
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.
Tele : 3015802

To

Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister.
Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Copy, with a copy of the relevant minutes, forwarded to the following, in respect of cases(s) mentioned against each:-

- Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. (
- Secretary, Department of Industrial Development. (Case No.40
- Secretary, Ministry of Science and Technology. (
- Secretary, Department of Education. (
- Foreign Secretary. (Case Nos.40
- Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs. (and 44
- Secretary, Department of Legal Affairs. (Case Nos.40,41
- Finance Secretary. (Case Nos.40,42
- Secretary, Department of Revenue. (Case No.40 and 43
- Secretary, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions. (Case Nos.41
- Secretary, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. (Case No.42
- Secretary, Ministry of Surface Transport (Case No.43
- Secretary, Department of Expenditure. (Case No.43
- Secretary, Department of Jammu & Kashmir (Case No.45

(D.M.M. Rao)
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.

(165)
~~SECRET~~

COPY NO. 8

No.6/CM/95

CABINET SECRETARIAT

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE
CABINET HELD AT 1200 HOURS, ON WEDNESDAY, THE
8TH FEBRUARY, 1995 IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM
(NO.155), SOUTH BLOCK, NEW DELHI.

Case No.40/6/95

Item 1

Publication of foreign newspapers and
periodicals in India- Review of
Government's policy as contained in the
Cabinet Decision of 1955.

DEFERRED.

~~SECRET~~

GSH

12 copies.

166

~~SECRET~~

COPY NO. 2

No.6/CM/95

CABINET SECRETARIAT

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE
CABINET HELD AT 1200 HOURS, ON WEDNESDAY, THE
8TH FEBRUARY, 1995 IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM
(NO.155), SOUTH BLOCK, NEW DELHI.

Case No.44/6/95

Item 5

Proposal to bring the mortal remains of
Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to
India.

DEFERRED.

SECRET

GSH

3 copies.

~~SECRET~~

167

23

C/551/12/93-78

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

I had dinner with the Japanese Ambassador Mr. Chusei Yamada, last evening. During the course of the evening, he raised the question of Netaji's ashes, which are kept in Japan. He said that Netaji's daughter from his German wife, Mrs. Anita Bose Pfaff, is currently in India and had spoken to him a few days ago. She had expressed the desire that Netaji's ashes should not be kept in Japan much longer and should, if possible, be brought to India. She said that she will be discussing this matter with other members of Netaji's family and try to forge a consensus within the family. If this does not prove possible, she would like to take the ashes to her mother, who seems to live in Germany. (The Ambassador was not very clear whether she lives in Austria or Germany.) The Japanese Ambassador said that they feel that the wishes of the family would have to be given some weight and that they would be expected to respond to her request soon. The Ambassador did however tell her that they would need to consider GOI's reactions also. Mrs. Pfaff responded that she will be writing to PM on this matter. She also requested the Ambassador not to contact the Indian Government till she has had a chance to consult the family and to write to PM. He felt however that he must convey it to us, at least informally. He also wanted my reaction.

2. I said that I will naturally have to inform MEA. I also stressed that this matter was politically sensitive and one must proceed with caution. While the wishes of the family are no doubt important, Indians consider this a matter of national importance. The Ambassador confirmed that nothing is going to be done in a hurry. In any case, Mrs. Pfaff also felt that a proper ceremony would need to be held if ultimately it was decided (and agreed) to move the ashes. She felt that such a ceremony was perhaps best held at the time of the annual function to mark the death anniversary of Netaji, on August 17.

3. JS (AP) may like to examine this matter and seek Foreign Secretary's directions. In my further discussions with the Ambassador, I got the impression that the Japanese Government itself has no serious problems with the ashes continuing to stay in Tokyo. I will however be able to make an assessment only on my arrival in Tokyo.


(Kuldip Sahdev)

Ambassador Designate
to Tokyo
Camp New Delhi
16.02.95

JS (AP)

(168)

(24)

S/108/APD/15-~~SECRET~~
20/2

C/551/12/93-JP.

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

F.S. may kindly see note⁶ recorded by our Ambassador(Designate) to Tokyo regarding ashes of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose. In the first instance, the above information may be forwarded to MHA which is the nodal Ministry handling this issue. We would also forward a copy to PMO for their information.

⊗ File 'A'

2. It has always been our position that the family of Netaji should arrive at a consensus on what steps should be taken regarding the ashes of Netaji which are kept in the Renkoji temple near Tokyo. If it is possible that Netaji's daughter is able to achieve a consensus then the matter for the Government of India would become relatively simple. However, if there continues to be dissenting views, as they are at present, then it is best that its status-quo is retained. However, what Government wishes to do would depend largely upon whether Netaji's daughter is able to achieve a consensus or not. For the present we can continue to watch the situation carefully and see whether she is able to make progress. Our attitude would naturally depend upon the outcome of her efforts.

3. May kindly see for orders.

R. S. Kalha

(R.S. Kalha)
Joint Secretary(AP)
February 17, 1995

0/c

F.S.

Netaji

st P

593-JFA/195
17/2

TELEPHONE: 54050

FAX: 8869301

TELEGRAM: INDEMBASSY BONN



807-JS(AP)/95
भारतीय राजदूतावास
बौन

EMBASSY OF INDIA

ADENAUERALLEE 262-264

5300 BONN 1

(Debnath Shaw)
First Secy(IEC)

1054/APD/11
8/3

No.Bon/IEC/105/1/95

Feb.23,1995

Dear Sir,

As directed by Ambassador Rana, I am enclosing herewith papers relating to the Seminar on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, held in Bonn on October 22, 1994. The proceedings of the Seminar are still being finalised and we hope to have them published through ICCR.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

D. Shaw

(Debnath Shaw)

Sh.R.S.Kalha,
Joint Secy(AP)
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

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120

Subhas Chandra Bose
- the legendary
freedom fighter of India
and his legacy
for India and Europe

Seminar

in commemoration of the anniversary of the
formation of the provisional Government of
"Azad Hind" (Free India)

by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
at Singapore on October 21st, 1943

on Saturday, October 22nd, 1994
from 10.00 hrs to 16.30 hrs

at the Stadthalle - Parksaal
Bonn-BadGodesberg, Koblenzer Strasse 80

Programm

10.00 hrs **Mr. Kishan S. Rana**
Ambassador of India
Opening remarks

Morning session (10.15 hrs - 12.15 hrs)

Chairman: **Mr. Günter Diehl**
Former Ambassador of FRG to India

10.15 hrs **Professor Dr. Johannes H. Voigt**
Universität Stuttgart
"Role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in Europe
in relation to the freedom struggle in India"

11.00 hrs Tea/Coffee Break (in Terrassen-Saal)

11.15 hrs **Professor Dr. Anita B. Pfaff**
Universität Augsburg
"Netaji's ideas and ideals and their implications for
India today"

11.45 hrs **Professor Dr. Diethelm Weidemann**
Humboldt Universität, Berlin
"Subhas Chandra Bose's passage to Germany"

12.30 hrs - 14.00 hrs Lunch Break
(the participants are invited to a buffet in Kleiner Saal)

Afternoon session (14.00 hrs - 16.30 hrs)

Chairman: **Professor Dr. Lothar Lutze**

14.00 hrs **Professor Dr. Dr. Tapan Kumar Raychaudhuri**
University of Oxford

"The role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
in Indian politics: a reassessment"

14.45 hrs **Mr. Surya Kumar Bose**
Bose Information Technology, Hamburg
"Subhas Chandra Bose - the Garibaldi of India "

15.15 hrs Tea/Coffee Break (in Terrassen-Saal)

15.30 hrs Panel-Discussion

Panelists: **Dr. Rudolf Hartog**, Bad Salzungen
Professor Dr. Jürgen Lütt, Berlin
Dr. Nirode K. Barooah, Köln
Open Discussion

16.15 hrs **Mr. Günter Diehl**
Closing remarks

**An exhibition of photographs and documents
will be held in the Terrassen-Saal**

Conference languages: English and German

Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23 January 1897. From early childhood he was deeply influenced by the teachings of Swami Vivekananda and dedicated himself to social service. He was a keen student of Indian and Western philosophy. After graduating from Calcutta University, he studied philosophy at Cambridge University. He successfully passed the Indian Civil Service examination, but resigned from service to join the non-cooperation movement of Mahatma Gandhi (1920-1922). On returning from England he became the chief lieutenant of Chitta Ranjan Das, who had given up his flourishing practice as a Barrister to join the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi. The non-cooperation movement did not make much headway and Gandhi left active politics for the time being. C.R. Das formed the Swaraj Party in 1923 and soon became the central figure in Indian politics. The revolutionaries in India joined the Swaraj Party, which advocated the establishment of a socialist society in India. Das died prematurely in 1925. Gandhi returned to Congress politics in 1928. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928, Subhas Bose emerged as the leader of the left wing movement in India. He soon became an important leader of the Congress led by Gandhi. He, however, maintained close contact with the revolutionaries all over India. In 1938, Bose was unanimously elected President of the Congress. The following year, he defeated Gandhi's candidate and was elected President of the Congress for the second time. Soon differences became acute between them and Bose was forced to resign. War broke out in Europe on 3 September 1939. Bose felt that this gave India a unique opportunity to strike for her freedom. He got in touch with the Soviet Government in October 1939 for armed military assistance to secure India's freedom, but received no response. He, therefore, decided to leave India and ultimately reached Berlin in the first week of April 1941 with the assistance of the German, Italian and Soviet Governments.

It was not easy for him to get German support for his work. He was able to bring A.C.N. Nambiar back from Vichy France to assist him in his task. Bose was able to set up the Free India Centre in Germany with the help of Indians living in Europe. But it was only in early 1942 that he was permitted to use the German broadcasting system for his broadcasts to India. He organised a very efficient "Free India Legion" by recruiting a substantial number from among the Indian prisoners of war.

When Germany attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, Bose made his views very clear to Wilhelm Keppler, Head of the India Section of the Foreign Office and Dr. Woermann, Under-Secretary of State. Bose told them that the feelings of the Indian people were very decidedly on the Russian side.

From early 1942, Bose realised that his presence in East Asia was vital for his struggle, and that his stay in Germany was no longer useful. On 23 July 1942, Bose wrote a letter to Ribbentrop requesting him to arrange for his travel to the Far East. This was not an easy matter and ultimately on 8 February 1943, Bose and Abid Hassan climbed into a German submarine U-180 and their long journey to East Asia began. On 6 May 1943, Bose arrived at Saban Island naval base from where he flew to Tokyo and met a number of Japanese Generals, Foreign Minister Shigemitsu and finally Prime Minister Tojo. Subhas deeply impressed Tojo, who became one of his firm supporters. From Tokyo he travelled to Singapore, where he assumed the leadership of the Indian National Army (INA) and ultimately formed the Provisional Government of "Azad Hind" (Free India) on 21 October 1943. The war for Indian independence began and the INA along with the Japanese forces crossed the Indo-Burma front. Col. Saikat Ali Malik hoisted the Indian national flag at Moirang in India. Onset of early monsoon and lack of Japanese air power led to the defeat of INA and the Japanese Army in the battle for Imphal and Kohima.

INA officers and soldiers were brought back to India as prisoners of war. The trial of three INA officers started in the Red Fort in Delhi on 5 November 1945. As a result of the trial, the entire Indian people, irrespective of their religion became active supporters of Netaji and his revolutionary army. By the end of November 1945, General Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief informed the Viceroy that the British Indian Army could no longer be depended upon to suppress the Indian revolution. Although Bose was not able to enter India at the head of his army, his endeavours constituted a decisive blow in destroying British imperialism in India.

- Surya Kumar Bose

Seminar on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Bonn, 22nd October 1994

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

1. " Subhas Chandra Boses Rolle in Europa im Rahmen des indischen Unabhängigkeitskampfes "
- *Prof.Dr.Johannes H. Voigt*
2. " Subhas Chandra Bose's Passage to Germany "
- *Prof.Dr.Diethelm Weidermann*
3. " Netaji's Ideas and Ideals - Some Implications for India today "
- *Prof.Dr.Anita B.Pfaff*
4. " Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose "
- *Prof.Dr.Dr.Tapan Kumar Raychaudhuri*
5. " Subhas Chandra Bose " - the Garibaldi of India "
- *Mr.Surya Kumar Bose*

* * *

Subhas Chandra Boses Rolle in Europa im Rahmen des indischen Unabhängigkeitskampfes.

Die Persönlichkeit und das Wirken des indischen Freiheitskämpfers Subhas Chandra Bose werden in der indischen Geschichtsschreibung generell anders beurteilt als in der europäischen und amerikanischen. In Indien gibt es keine Zweifel an der Richtigkeit der Ziele und der Haltung Boses, obgleich er im Zweiten Weltkrieg seinen Kampf auf Seiten der Achsenmaechte führte. Der Vortrag soll erklären warum dem so ist.

Als Präsident des indische Nationalkongresses 1938 und 1939 wurde Bose aus den Reihen der eigenen Partei kritisiert und schließlich auf Druck Gandhis abgewählt, weil er eine Politik der "direkten Aktion" für den Fall befürwortete, daß England in einen Krieg verwickelt würde. Daß er nach seiner Flucht aus dem Gefängnis den Weg nach Deutschland wählte, war dem Umstand zuzuschreiben, daß die Sowjetunion nicht bereit war, ihm Asyl und die Möglichkeit zu einer Taetigkeit gegen die britische Herrschaft in Indien zu bieten. Er täuschte sich aber hinsichtlich der Festigkeit der deutsch-sowjetischen Partnerschaft. Die rassistische Politik des NS-Regimes nahm er in Kauf, soweit sie nicht gegen Inder gerichtet war.

Sein Programm in Europa konnte Bose nur teilweise verwirklichen. Statt der von ihm gewünschten Provisorischen Regierung des Nationalen Indien wurde ihm nur eine Zentralstelle des Freien Indien eingeräumt, eine gemeinsame Erklärung der Achsenmaechte zur Unabhängigkeit Indiens scheiterte am Nein Hitlers; eine Unterredung mit dem deutschen Diktator hatte nur den Entschluß Boses zur Folge, auf japanischer Seite den Kampf gegen den Raj fortzuführen. Lediglich die Aufnahme von Rundfunksendungen nach Indien und die Aufstellung der Indischen Legion in Form eines Infanterie-Regiments im Rahmen der Wehrmacht kamen in etwa seinen Vorstellungen nahe. In diesen beiden Bereichen propagierte Bose die Einheit des indischen Volkes, das er frei von allen Barrieren wünschte, die es zerklüfteten, schwächten und am Ende zu spalten drohten.

Die Verankerung seiner Bewegung in Europa war eine Art Schranke gegen einen übermächtigen japanischen Einfluß, wie er sich noch unter seinem Vorgänger Rash Behari Bose gezeigt hatte und zum faktischen Zusammenbruch der Indian National Army(INA) geführt hatte. In Europa gewann Bose überdies Erfahrungen, die ihm bei seiner Arbeit auf politischem und militärischem Gebiet in Südostasien zugute kamen. Allerdings erfolgte Boses Reise nach Südostasien zu spät, um von dort noch den Ausklang des indischen August-Aufstandes beeinflussen zu können. Während des ebenfalls viel zu spät erfolgten japanischen Einmarsches ins östliche Indien im Jahre 1944, hatte die INA keine erkennbare Wirkung auf die Britisch-Indische Armee.

Boses Tod bei einem Flugzeugabsturz am Ende des Krieges beendete seine Karriere allzu früh. Dennoch ging von seiner Arbeit in Europa wie in Asien eine unerwartet starke postume Wirkung aus: das Kriegsgerichtsverfahren im Roten Fort gegen drei Generäle der INA machten Boses frühere Tätigkeit erst zu einer gesamtindischen Angelegenheit. Es war der wohl entscheidende Auslöser der Meuterei in den britisch-indischen Streitkräften Anfang 1946, die den Briten anzeigte, daß ihre Herrschaft in Indien zu Ende ging. Bose erwarb sich den Respekt Nehrus, die Achtung Mahatma Gandhis und den Ehrentitel "Netaji" seitens der indischen Nation.

Subhas Chandra Bose's Passage to Germany (1941)

Bose war eine der faszinierendsten und zugleich umstrittensten Persönlichkeiten der indischen Nationbewegung. Es ist kaum überraschend, daß über sein Leben und Wirken eine recht umfassende und in weiten Teilen auch durchaus kontroverse Literatur existiert.

Persönlichkeiten wie Subhas Chandra Bose ziehen die Mythenbildung direkt an, schon zu seinen Lebzeiten entstanden die ersten Legenden. So detailliert seine Biographie bis 1940 auch aufgearbeitet erscheint; mindestens für die letzten fünf Jahre seines Lebens ist eine grundsätzliche Rekonstruktion, gestützt auf authentische Quellen, weiterhin eine wichtige wissenschaftliche Aufgabe.

Der Beitrag versucht, die Periode zwischen der Flucht aus Kalkutta am 17. Januar 1941 und seiner Ankunft in Berlin am 2. April 1941 möglichst detailliert nachzuzeichnen, Interessen und Wirkungsmechanismen sichtbar zu machen, wobei vor allem hinsichtlich der Kabul-Episode einige in der Literatur verbreitete Auffassungen mit offiziellen deutschen Quellen konfrontiert werden, die in verschiedenen Archiven ermittelt werden konnten. Die Ergebnisse dieser vorläufigen Untersuchung können kurz wie folgt zusammengefaßt werden:

1. Subhas Chandra Bose war lange vor dem Dezember 1940 definitiv entschlossen, Indien zu verlassen. Sein Ziel war nachweislich die UdSSR.
2. Der Versuch, in die UdSSR zu gelangen, scheiterte an der Furcht des sowjetischen Botschafters in Kabul vor einer britischen Provokation, an der politischen und ideologischen Lage zwischen 1939 und 1941 in der Sowjetunion und am Mißtrauen der sowjetischen Führung gegen Bose. Das kann abschließend nur in russischen Archiven verifiziert werden.
3. Bose hatte angesichts der realen Lage im Februar/März 1941 nur die Wahl, sich entweder von der afghanischen Regierung an die Briten ausliefern zu lassen, oder den einzigen verbliebenen Fluchtweg - nach Deutschland oder Italien - zu nutzen. Trotz größerer Sympathien für Italien entschied er sich bewußt aus machtpolitischen Gründen für Deutschland.
4. Alle wesentlichen Aktivitäten hinsichtlich der Reise Boses nach Europa gingen entgegen der in der Literatur verbreiteten Auffassung nicht von Italien, sondern vom deutschen Auswärtigen Amt aus - mit Ausnahme der Regelung des Paßproblems.

Die Arbeit soll mit der Reflektierung der relevanten Dokumente vom 3. April 1941 bis zu den Treffen Boses mit Reichsaußenminister v. Ribbentrop fortgesetzt werden.

Prof. Dr. Anita B. Pfaff

Institut für Volkswirtschaftslehre der Universität Augsburg und Internationales Institut für Empirische Sozialökonomie (INIFES)

NETAJI'S IDEAS AND IDEALS- SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA TODAY

Anlaß dieses Seminars ist das Ende des 50. Gedenkjahres der Proklamation von "Azad Hind", dem freien Indien, und der Installation seiner Exilregierung am 21. Oktober 1943. Eine der herausragenden Führungspersönlichkeiten der indischen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung und beherrschende Figur des bewaffneten Aufstandes gegen die englische Kolonialherrschaft war Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose - von seinen bengalischen Landsleuten auch liebevoll Deshupriya, der "Stolz unseres Landes" genannt. In der früheren historischen Betrachtung der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung fand sein Beitrag insbesondere außerhalb Indiens aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht zuletzt aufgrund der Tatsache, daß er wegen seines Unfalltodes oder seines mysteriösen Verschwindens zu Ende des 2. Weltkrieges in Taiwan nach der Unabhängigkeit Indiens keine aktive Rolle mehr spielte - eine vergleichsweise geringe Beachtung. Im Zuge der allmählichen Öffnung der englischen und US-amerikanischen Archive (allerdings sind Teile der Akten auch weiterhin der Öffentlichkeit nicht zugänglich) wurde allerdings auch deutlich, daß seine Rolle und die Rolle der Indischen Nationalarmee für die Realisierung der Unabhängigkeit wichtiger war als manche Historiker zunächst vermeint hatten.

Ein enger Bezug Boses zu Deutschland bestand darin, daß er nicht nur wiederholt schon während der 30'er Jahre hier weilte. Während des 2. Weltkrieges suchte er bei den Gegnern seiner Gegner - Deutschland und Japan - Unterstützung auch für den bewaffneten Widerstand, den er in gewissem Umfang auch fand. Diese Bemühung um Unterstützung hat ihm fälschlicherweise bei manchen den Ruf eingetragen ein Sympathisant des Faschismus zu sein, was sich jedoch aus verschiedenen Äußerungen und Handlungen deutlich widerlegen läßt.

Bose hat für seine Zeit zum Teil wegweisende, für die damalige Zeit recht unkonventionelle und fortschrittliche Gedanken, was die Beziehung der verschiedenen Religionsgruppen zueinander, die Rolle der Frauen, die Rolle verschiedener sozialer und ethnischer Gruppen, verschiedener Regionen und der Gesellschaft als soziales System angeht.

Das Referat widmet sich einigen dieser Gedanken und Ideale und zieht Implikationen für das heutige Indien. Dabei wird insbesondere auf die Frage eingegangen, welche Rolle der Föderalismus in Indien spielen könnte und vielleicht auch sollte, welche bundesdeutschen Erfahrungen hierbei dienlich sein könnten und welche Ausgangsbedingungen Indien heute für den Einstieg in eine soziale Sicherung hätte, wenn man die Situation mit der Deutschlands bei Einführung der Sozialversicherung vergleicht.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

In der allgemeinen Erinnerung hat Netaji sowohl in als auch außerhalb Indiens vor allem als Führer der Indian National Army überlebt. Die daraus resultierende Betonung, die sich in allen Beurteilungen seiner Rolle und Persönlichkeit findet, verschleiert weit zentralere Charakteristika im Hinblick auf seinen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der indischen Souveränität. Darüber hinaus haben Mißdeutungen der Geschichte der INA zu einer andauernden Fehlinterpretation ihrer Natur und ihrer Absicht geführt, ein Thema, auf das ich eingehen möchte, auch wenn es nicht im Mittelpunkt meines Anliegens in diesem Gespräch steht.

Ein kompromiß - und bedingungsloser Nationalismus war der Grundgedanke von Netajis Leben. Die entsprechende Ideologie, die durch die Erinnerung an den Faschismus befleckt und durch die Massaker an Unschuldigen in ihrem Namen in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten weiter herabgewürdigt wurde, wird nicht länger als ein Höhepunkt menschlichen Fortschritts auf dem Weg in eine bessere Welt angesehen. Solche Beurteilungen übersehen jedoch die Tatsache, daß der Nationalismus sowohl im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts als auch in Asien und Afrika zu Zeiten der Kolonialherrschaft eine veredelnde und lebensverbessernde Qualität hatte, daß er eine Erhabenheit des Ichs bei der Verfolgung eines höheren Ziels, das dem Menschen förderlich war, beinhaltete. Seit seiner Kindheit waren das Leben und die Laufbahn Netajis von jenem patriotischen Ideal durchdrungen, das er kennenlernte, als es noch unschuldig und unbefleckt von irgendwelchen Herabwürdigungen war. Seine tiefe Religiosität verschmolz spontan mit einer patriotischen Inbrunst. Dabei folgte er den Spuren des Mannes, der ihn in seiner Jugend inspiriert hatte: Swami Vivekananda.

Netajis patriotischer Eifer fand seinen Ausdruck in einem Engagement für die Aufgabe der Befreiung Indiens, bei der seine eigene Person völlig zurückstand. Er war der erste und einer von lediglich zwei Indern, die aus dem 'himmlischen' Indian Civil Service, der einen hohen Status, Privilegien und eine komfortable Existenz bot, austrat, um sich der nationalistischen Bewegung anzuschließen. Und nach diesem anfänglichen Akt der Selbstaufopferung im Alter von Anfang Zwanzig wich er keinen Tag mehr von diesem selbst gewählten Weg ab. Für viele junge Inder, die in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts diesen harten Weg wählten, war Netajis spektakuläre Hintanstellung seiner eigenen Person wie die seines Mentors C.R. Das eine sehr wichtige Quelle ihrer Inspiration.

Uneingeschränkter Patriotismus war der Leitgedanke des Lebens und der Taten Netajis. Und darin war er völlig kompromißlos. Für den Mahatma war der Unabhängigkeitskampf ein zweitrangiges Ziel in seinem Streben nach einem ethischen Paradies auf Erden für die Menschheit. Jawaharlal sah den indischen Kampf als Teil eines weltweiten Kampfes für die Befreiung der Menschheit von ausbeuterischer Kontrolle. Davon unterscheidet sich Netajis Engagement durch sein fast ausschließlich auf die indische Unabhängigkeit ausgerichtete Interesse. In diese zielstrebige Verfolgung dieses einen Ziels waren all seine höheren Ambitionen eingeschlossen. Dies war die Quelle seines Charismas.

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Die Literatur über den indischen Nationalismus stellt ihn oft als einen Radikalen dar. Es stimmt, daß er an die Ideale einer gerechten Gesellschaft mit einem fairen Anteil für die Unterprivilegierten und an ein Ende ausbeuterischer sozialer Beziehungen glaubte, aber sein Radikalismus bestand vor allem in dem Beharren auf einem kompromißlosen und unnachgiebigen Kampf für die Unabhängigkeit. Dafür war er auch zur Konfrontation mit dem Mahatma bereit, dessen Strategien Platz für Verhandlungen, Kompromisse und, falls erforderlich, auch Verzögerungen boten. Netaji war nicht bereit zu warten. Durch seine Leidenschaft gewann er die Unterstützung indischer Nationalisten, auch wenn der Mahatma selbst ihn zu ungestüm fand. Er gehörte zu der kleinen Gruppe junger Führer, deren Beharrlichkeit dazu führte, daß Purna Swaraj, die völlige Unabhängigkeit von ausländischer Herrschaft, als offenes Ziel des Indian National Congress angenommen wurde. Zusammen mit dem jungen Jawaharlal baute er die Indian Independence League auf, um sicherzustellen, daß die Partei dieses Ideal nicht vergaß. Die Schaffung der Indian National Army muß im Zusammenhang mit diesem kompromißlosen Anliegen gesehen werden. Die westliche Geschichtsschreibung war bisher nur zögerlich bereit, in Aktionen, die irgendwelche Verbindungen mit den Achsenmächten einschlossen, überhaupt etwas Positives zu sehen. Netaji sah die Verbindung mit diesen Mächten als realpolitische Notwendigkeit bei der Verfolgung seines Ziels, der indischen Unabhängigkeit, an. Wie heute weitgehend bekannt ist, vermied er es erfolgreich, zu einer Puppe in den Händen der Feinde seiner Feinde degradiert zu werden. Die Tatsache, daß die wirklichen Intentionen, die hinter der INA standen, von allen Bereichen der öffentlichen Meinung in Indien, einschließlich Nehru, der eindeutig antifaschistisch war, und selbst Mahatma Gandhi, anerkannt und gelobt wurden, wurde in dem einmütigen Aufwallen patriotischer Leidenschaft gegen die britische Entscheidung, die Führer vor Gericht zu stellen, offenbar.

Die pragmatische Betonung des Tuns gegenüber dem großen Theoretisieren war seine Stärke in all seinen Aktionen. Er war bereit, selbst an den unmöglichsten Stellen nach Lösungen für die Probleme seines Landes zu suchen. Seine Aussage, daß sowohl das faschistische als auch das kommunistische Programm ihre Vorzüge hätten, bedeutet nicht, daß er einem totalitären Programm großen Wert beimaß, sondern nur, daß er annehmbare Punkte in den politischen Richtlinien zum raschen wirtschaftlichen Wachstum, die die zwei Systeme verabschiedet hatten, entdeckt hatte. Sein Zwanzig-Punkte-Programm zum Wiederaufbau Indiens und seine Initiative, in Zusammenarbeit mit Jawaharlal Nehru das Congress Planning Committee zu schaffen, waren die Vorläufer der Planning Commission im unabhängigen Indien und verdeutlichen die Implikationen seiner aktionsorientierten Ideologie.

"Subhas Chandra Bose - the Garibaldi of India"

I am not a historian and do not profess to be one. But, I have studied an exact science, namely Physics and therefore I rely on facts which can be proved and on information that is based on objective observation, as far as possible, documented by contemporary witnesses of the time. Being a member of Bose family I have had access to certain hitherto unpublished works of Subhas Chandra Bose. I have had the privilege of acquiring first-hand information from my father, Amiy Nath Bose, who was a contemporary witness and closely associated with the public and private life of Subhas Chandra Bose. I have co-authored my speech with my father.

I shall quote extensively from documents and writings of such witnesses and let the fact speak for themselves and expose certain myths that prevail due to organised fabrication and distortion of facts over a long period of time. As early as 1926, Subhas Chandra Bose wrote in a book "Pebbles on the Seashore", which is due to be released in India very shortly on the danger of racialism in Europe long before the appearance of Nazi racialism. If I may say his works on racialism is one of his legacies for Europe. I shall quote certain passages from this book to give you an idea about his farsightedness and versatility. He was just a freedom fighter par excellence but also a politician with sound practical sense and only Indian leader who succeeded in unifying people belonging to different religious faiths.

Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23 January 1897. He was a keen student of Indian and Western philosophy. After graduating from Calcutta University, he studied philosophy at Cambridge University. He successfully completed the Indian Civil Service examination, but he resigned from service to join the non-co-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi (1920-1922). On returning from England he became the chief lieutenant of Chittaranjan Das, who had given up his flourishing practice as a Barrister to join the non-co-operation movement of Gandhi. These efforts met with limited success and Gandhi left active politics for the time being. C.R.Das formed the Swaraj Party in 1923, soon becoming the central figure on Indian politics. The revolutionaries in India joined the Swaraj Party, which advocated the establishment of a socialist society in India. C.R.Das died prematurely in 1925. Gandhi returned to active politics in 1928. For the first time at the Calcutta session of the congress in 1928 Subhas Bose emerged as the leader of the left wing movement in India. He soon became an important leader of the Congress led by Gandhi. He, However, maintained close contact with the revolutionaries all over India. Subhas was unanimously elected President of the Congress in 1938. In 1939, Gandhi's candidate was defeated and Bose was elected President of the Congress for the second time. Soon differences between them became more pronounced, forcing Bose

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to leave the Congress. War broke out in Europe on 3. September 1939. Bose felt that this gave India a unique opportunity to strike for her freedom. He got in touch with the Soviet Government in October 1939 for armed military assistance to secure India's freedom, but received no response. He. therefore, decided to leave India and ultimately reached Berlin in the first week of April 1941 with the assistance of the German, Italian and Soviet Governments.

It was not easy for him to obtain German assistance. He was able to bring A.C.N. Nambiar back from Vichy in France, to assist him in Germany with the help of Indians living in Europe. But it was only in early 1942 that he was permitted to use the German broadcasting system for his broadcasts to India. He organised a very efficient "Free India Legion" by recruiting a substantial number from among the Indian prisoners of war.

When Germany attacked the Soviet Union on 22. June 1941, Bose made his views very clear to Wilhelm Keppler, Head of the India Section of the Foreign Office and Dr. Woermann, Under-Secretary of State, that the feelings of the Indian people were very decidedly on the Russian side.

In 1942, Bose realised that his presence in East Asia was vital for his struggle, and that his stay in Germany was no longer useful. On 23. July 1942, Bose wrote to Ribbentrop requesting him to organise his travel to the Far East, with the help of the Italian Government in an Italian Air Force

plane. He wanted to reach the Far East by the first week of August 1942. However, according to Nambiar, this plan had to be abandoned as the British Secret Service was informed about it by sources in the Italian Foreign Office.

Ultimately on 8. February 1943, Bose and Abid Hassan boarded into a German U-180 submarine and their long journey to East Asia began. On 6. May 1943, Bose arrived at Sabin Island naval base from where he flew to Tokyo and met a number of Japanese Generals, Foreign Minister Shigemitsu and finally Prime Minister Tojo, who became one of his firm supporters. From Tokyo he travelled to Singapore, where he assumed the leadership of the Indian National Army (INA) and ultimately formed the Provisional Government of "Azad Hind" (Free India) on 21. October 1943. The war for Indian independence began and the INA along with the Japanese forces crossed the Indo-Burma front. Col. Shaukat Ali Malik hoisted the Indian national flag at Moirang in India. the early onset of monsoon and lack of Japanese air power led to the defeat of INA and the Japanese Army in the battle for Imphal and Kohima.

INA offices and soldiers were brought back to India as prisoners of war. The trial of three INA officers started in the Red Fort in Delhi on 5. November 1945. As a result of the trial, the entire Indian people, irrespective of their religion became active supporters of Netaji and his revolutionary army. By the end of November 1945, General Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief informed the Viceroy that the

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British Indian Army could no longer be depended upon to suppress the Indian revolution. Although Bose was not able, to enter India at the head of his army, his endeavours constituted a decisive blow in destroying British imperialism in India.

Surya Kumar

Bose

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INDIA

NETAJI AND HIS ROLE FOR INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE FROM GERMANY

Indians and Germans unravel new facts

Bonn (IN) - The world-wide popularity of Mahatma Gandhi as Indian Freedom Fighter has overshadowed the role of all those aspirants of Indian Independence, who did not accompany him on his path of non-violence and opted for military force acquired through foreign assistance as their means for Indian Freedom struggle. Netaji Subhash Candra Bose (1897-1945) was the leader of these. His association with the axis-powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, has brought him the defamation of being a traitor, collaborator and even fascist. Eminent and distinguished German and Indian Historians, contemporaries and family members of Netaji reflected on this and presented in a symposium a new assessment of Netaji's role. This symposium was organized by the Embassy of India, Bonn in collaboration with the Federal Executive Board of Indo-German Society, Stuttgart. Learned speakers were Prof. Johannes H. Voigt, Prof. Diethelm Weidemann, Prof. Jürgen Lütt, Prof. Tapan Raychaudhuri, Prof. Anita Bose Pfaff (Netaji's daughter), Dr. Nirode K. Barooah, Dr. Rudolf Hartog (Interpreter of 'Indian Legion'), Mr. Surya Kumar Bose (Netaji's Grandnephew) and Mr. Hermann Wien (Submarine machinist and the contemporary of Bose). The seminar was chaired by Mr. Günter Diehl, the war-veteran and the Former Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany to India.

In their opening remarks, both Indian Ambassador K.S. Rana and the former German Ambassador Günter Diehl asserted that Netaji's ideas were exploited by Hitler. But Netaji was a patriot, nationalist and a great source of idealism for India.

Prof. Raychaudhuri talking about the difference between the Indian and Nazi-German patriotism and nationalism pointed out that Netaji's first act of selflessness was to resign from the most lucrative career of Indian Civil Services. He was the first and one of the two, who ever resigned from the Indian Civil Services. Thereby Netaji made the biggest sacrifice for the cause of Indian Independence, as he did this to join the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi. After the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi failed to attain the anticipated freedom of India and Gandhi did not disclose his concrete plans for the freedom struggle, Netaji joined the Indian insurrection movement, as Weidemann mentioned. This brought Netaji initially imprisonment and later also banishment from India. During his exile, he toured Germany, Austria and Italy. On return to India, he was elected President of Indian National Congress. But he failed to convince the Apostle of Non-violence, Gandhi of his military programme. Instead he insisted on the re-election as President of Congress. Though he defeated Gandhi's candidate in his re-election, he could not gain the support of the right wing of the Congress. This was rather shuddered by his admiration for military glamour, Machiavellian approach 'Britain's necessity is India's opportunity' and his inclination towards

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the axis-powers, as their imperialistic aspirations were not hidden from anybody in the world and Hitler's racial fancies were also no secret. Therefore, he was incapacitated in India by the British rulers and the principle of non-violence and of the so called passive resistance practised by Gandhi and his Congress-followers.

That Bose instead spread out his wings towards Germany to realize his dream of Indian Independence, aroused suspicion about his intentions, as his ideas about the baselessness of teutonic and nordic supremacy were not known then, though he penned them down as early as 1926 in his book 'Pebbles on the Sea-shore'. This book is due to be released in India, Surya Kumar Bose disclosed. Second fact that Bose condemned racialism and Pro-British approach of Hitler in his letter to Dr. Thierfelder, German Academy in Munich, was also not known at that time. Third fact, Bose never made any concessions in his demand for Indian Independence to any foreign power, even if, for example, Hitler did not grant his wish to form a provisional Government of 'Free India' in Germany. Fourth and the most important fact remains that Bose's associates in Germany were not the Nazis, but the Nazi-resisters in the German Foreign Office, e.g. Adam von Trott zu Solz, Ernst von Weizsäcker. These last two points were highlighted by Raychaudhuri. Under these circumstances, the question arises, what help could Netaji get from the Germans.

According to Weidemann, though Germans initially suspected him to be a British agent, as he was very critical about Nazi-regime and German leftists, they helped him escape in 1941 from Kabul via Moscow to Berlin with an Italian passport. His escape was a joint-venture of Italian and German Foreign Offices in Kabul. Weidemann proved on the basis of his tiresome research in the archives that Bose wanted to operate only from Germany, though Surya Kumar Bose talked about his plans of going to the Soviet Union. Weidemann disclosed, that Bose considered Germany to be politically and militarily decisive in case of the victory of the axis-powers.

Bose's activities in Germany included the establishment of Free India Centre in Berlin, Radio propaganda from 19th February 1942 onwards and the canvassing of the volunteer recruits from the Indian prisoners of war for the 'Indian legion' of the German Army. He could invoke enthusiasm for the Indian Independence in around 2000 Indian prisoners. Bose and his Indian associates in the Free India Centre enjoyed the diplomatic status in the Nazi-Germany. Head of Free India Centre A.C.N.Nambiar also represented Independent India as ambassador in Federal Republic of Germany from 1955-1958. Bose's achievements in Germany were the foundation of Indo-German Society on 12th September 1942 in Hamburg in the presence of Ernst v. Weizsäcker (Father of the former German President Richard von Weizsäcker) among others. Surya Kumar Bose brought to the notice of the public, that the Indian National Anthem was first time sung on this occasion by the Indian legionaries. 'Indian Legion' of the German Army unified the Indian soldiers irrespective of their caste, creed and community. Bose instilled in them the Indian Identity. These soldiers, according to Hartog, shared a common kitchen as opposed to separate kitchens in the British Indian army. In spite of its pioneering and innovative role for the unity of Indian soldiers, Indian Legion is not known to the Indian army officers, whom Hartog has met. Indian Legion was formed in Germany to counter-balance the influence of Indian National Army in Japan led by Rash Behari Bose (Netaji's Brother). The emblem of the Indian legion was a tricolour flag with a leaping tiger across. Prof. Paul Thieme, the famous German Indologist with many other interpreters developed the language of communication for the legionaries, i.e. Hindustani in Roman script. It was emphasized by Hartog among others that

Netaji opted for this lingua franca to unify the Hindus and Muslims, who spoke the same language with the different scripts, Devanagari and Persian. Indian soldiers were commanded by the German officers in Hindustani. Bose made the German authorities very clear that the Indian legionaries should only be engaged at the Indian Front or on the way to the Indian Front and nowhere else. Bose had promised this to the recruits in his canvassing, which led later to revolts by legionaries, whenever intended to be employed at other fronts. Most important fact, which underlines the independence of Netaji from the Nazi-regime, was that he only took loan for his activities in Germany, which he returned back from Singapore. This was disclosed by Hartog. Germans not only assisted him in his escape to Berlin, but also arranged for him his historic submarine voyage of 30000 sea-miles to Saban islands, after Germany lost its Russian Battle. It was noted that Bose also openly opposed the attack on the Soviet union. So he can not have been the puppet or collaborator of Nazi-regime, as it has been alleged in the past. Even the failure of Bose-Hitler meeting due to the mutual misconceptions gives testimony to this fact.

Bose's role in the South-East Asia was considered to be more significant than in Germany, as he could form the provisional Government of Free India on the 21st October 1943 in Singapore and take over the command of the Indian National Army. This Government of India was recognized by the axis-powers. Bose led his army to the Indian Border, where he was defeated by the British Indian army. Despite this defeat, it was stressed by the distinguished scholars that he won the battle of Indian liberation, as according to his conviction, INA-trial at the Red Fort led to the uprisings and mutiny in the British Indian Army, Air-Force and Navy in 1946. Surya Kumar Bose revealed Lord Mountbatten's words that this mutiny was the real cause for the British to give India the freedom. This shows that Bose did succeed in realizing his vision of India's liberation by means of an Indian Army, for which his father Janaki Nath Bose had wished him to be the Garibaldi of India.

The daughter of this Garibaldi, Prof. Pfaff finds it unjust, when her father is only seen in opposition to the colonial power and Gandhi. She disclosed his economic programme, his concern for population control and uplift of the women in India. He formed the first women's regiment in the Indian Army called 'Rani of Jhansi' led by Lakshmi Swaminathan. He advocated for the education of girls in India not for the dowry sake, but for the self-reliance of women. So, he was also revolutionary in his dreams of Independent India. Therefore, Netaji's impact on the Indian debate about how to keep India together is still felt by Günter Diehl.

EDITOR: Horst Kollmann

Shashi Batra
(INTER NATIONES)

INDIAN SCENE IN EUROPE

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Remembering Bose

BONN (TIE) - One would have thought that the appeal of the memories of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the legendary freedom fighter of India, in the hurly-burly of today's world would be a dim one. But the seminar organised in Bonn in commemoration of the anniversary of the formation of the provisional government of "Azad Hind" by Bose at Singapore (1943) belied expectations by the sizable number of people who attended it and the galaxy of speakers who analysed his contributions to the Indian independence movement.

Organised by the Indian embassy in Bonn in co-operation with the Indo-German Society, the seminar saw a day-long programme under the chairmanship of Mr. Guenter Diehl, former German ambassador to India. Aptly, Bose's daughter, Dr. Anita B. Pfaff, professor at the University of Augsburg and one of the main speakers, drew attention to the "ideas and ideals of Netaji and their implications for India today" in an interesting lecture.

Stressing that Bose was very much in favour of abolishing caste barriers, Dr. Pfaff said that he was also an advocate of doing away with separate electorates and bringing different communities together. It was more than wishful thinking to opine that Bose together with Mahatma Gandhi would have had a far greater impact on the national scene than otherwise since both did not disagree on the goals but rather on the means with which to achieve them.

Bose's views on women were very modern, rather unusual in those days, Dr. Pfaff stated. He was all for giving them good education and opportunities for sports activities, strengthening their employment opportunities.

Bose was neither a fascist nor a communist but a socialist, it was clarified.

Dr. Tapan Kumar Raychaudhuri of the University of Oxford stated that a full appreciation of Netaji Bose was clouded by the fact of his having built up the Indian National Army (INA). In the right perspective, it was not difficult to appreciate the fact that he followed, in the spirit of the Gita, his patriotic duty to fight. His religious ideology was influenced by Swami Vivekananda, he emphasised.

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The case of Anita Pffaf

Netaji's German Connection Revisited

A seminar on Subhas Chandra Bose's stay in Nazi Germany, sponsored by the Indian Embassy in Bonn, not only led to glorification of an forgettable chapter in German history, but resurrected the debate about Netaji's alleged daughter. Rita Manchanda reports

IT had seemed most natural on the part of the Indian Embassy in Bonn to sponsor a Seminar on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in Germany recently. Bose had been in Germany from 1941-43 seeking Hitler, Mussolini and finally Tojo's support to overthrow British rule in India.

He had been denounced as a "quisling" and an Axis collaborator. But that was in the past. Bose had long since been officially rehabilitated and canonised as one of the tallest heroes of India's Freedom struggle.

At the October 22 Bonn seminar, there was the eminent historian Dr Tapan K Raychaudhuri. But the seminar was essentially a nostalgia trip. Former Capt Wilhelm Lutz of the Indian legion and August Massen and Herman Wien who were crew members of the U 180 submarine which took Bose to Japan in March 1943 were present.

They were eloquent in their testimonials. But the star attraction was Dr Anita B Pffaf who was hailed as the daughter of Subhas Chandra Bose at the Seminar.

The problem was that the Indian Embassy in its enthusiasm had forgot one thing. In India, it is still a matter of passionate dispute whether Bose was married to his Viennese Secretary Emilie Schenkl and had a daughter by her. The Forward Bloc, the party which Bose founded, fiercely denies that the Indian nationalist had married a foreigner.

Only last January, Forward Bloc activists in Calcutta burnt copies of the Bengali daily, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* because it had carried

Bose's letters to Emilie Schenkl with the opening, "My dear", as proof of his special attachment to her. Bose and Schenkl had corresponded regularly from August 1936 to October 1937. In Berlin, they lived together from 1941 to 1943.

But the Forward Bloc is adamant — there was no liason. "If he (Netaji) had been married and had a daughter, why then in Singapore did he say to the men of the INA that



Anita Pffaf

there was nothing behind him or before him, just his commitment to India and them", a Forward Bloc activist questioned. Anita Pffaf has visited Calcutta but according to Forward Bloc sources, she has not been officially received by the Left Front Government.

Much of the mystery turns on the confusion over the date of a wedding

and the absence of witnesses.

Leonard Gordon in *Brothers against the Raj* quotes Emilie Schenkl telling him that Bose and she were secretly married in December 1937 in Badgastein. Krishna Bose, his relative, in an article in the *Illustrated Weekly* in 1972, suggests they were married in 1941.

"Emilie Schenkel says that the marriage between Germans and foreigners was not encouraged by the Nazi regime. It was discreetly suggested to her to break off the relationship. When they were eventually married during the War they avoided some of the difficulties by getting married according to Hindu rites.

Confusing matters still further is Bose's close associate in Germany, A C Nambiar's equivocal comment: "I cannot state anything definite of the marriage. Came to know of it a good while after the end of the last War. I am aware of the deep attachment Bose had for Frau Schenkl... (and) responsibility he shared in regard to his daughter. In the extraordinary circumstances in which Bose lived in Europe around the time of the birth of the child, he was anxious to see the marriage not receive any publicity".

There is however a posthumous letter to Sarat Bose, his brother which says Emilie Schenkl is his wife and Anita his daughter. But it has not laid the controversy to rest. Not surprisingly, then that the Indian Embassy in Bonn has belatedly woken up to the fact that publicity in the Indian press may not be desirable.

For that matter publicity in the German press about the Seminar



was critical of the indirect glorification of the Nazi years. In a letter to the editor in a German daily, a German participant pointed out the ill-advisedness of celebrating Bose's connection with Hitler at a time of Nazi revivalism. In particular, the glowing testimonials to Bose by men like Capt Lutz and August Massen became occasions for a nostalgic look back at Germany.

To offset it there was his family member, Surya Kumar Bose's presentation on the Garibaldi of India in which he defends Bose against the charge of indifference to Nazi racism. He claims that as early as 1926 Bose wrote in a book, *Pebbles on the sea shore*, about the danger of racism in Europe.

Bose tried to unify people belonging to different religious faiths in India, claims S K Bose. And certainly, the Indian Legion for the first time did do away with the communal determination of regimental divisions.

Bose's German years, his reaching out to the fascist powers is a subject still conveniently glossed over by his admirers. Even his biographers like Leonard Gordon find embarrassing his silence on the internal policies of Hitler's Germany or Japan.

This was despite the fact that Bose's contact in the German Foreign Office was Adam von Trott, who throughout the war years was secretly engaged in the task of overthrowing the regime from within. Hitler's tyranny he feared was destroying the best in German tradition. In 1944, he was arrested for his involvement in an attempt on Hitler's life. But Bose knew nothing of these concerns of Trott, though his close associate A C Nambiar, a communist, probably did. Not only was he close to Trott but spoke up for him till he was warned that he was in danger of being arrested.

According to Lenard Gordon, Emilie Echenkl was a barrier between Bose and the aristocratic Foreign Office group around Trott. She was a secretary and seen as lower middle class.

THAT prejudice may have something to do with the absolute unwillingness by Bose's supporters to accept that the supranationalist could have married a foreigner.

Today, Anita Pffaf is an established socialist party member of the German Parliament. But while the Embassy in Bonn may fete her, in Calcutta they are not yet ready.

GT-407

TOKYO

24.02.95 18:50

FROM : INDEMBASSY TOKYO

TO : FOREIGN NEW DELHI

SHRI YOGESHWAR VARMA, DIRECTOR(J-K), AP DIVISION
FROM SUNIL JAIN, FS(P AND T)

RPT : SHRI G. MUKHOPADHYA, DIRECTOR(XP), MEA

FOLLOWING IS FREE TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE IN TOKYO SHIMBUN
OF 20TH FEBRUARY BY ITS NEW DELHI CORRESPONDENT, SHRI V. GUPTA :INDIA'S HERO CHANDRA BOSE: HIS FAMILY HAS STARTED
THE PROCESS OF TAKING BACK THE ASHES WHICH ARE
IN JAPAN: NEW DELHI BY V. GUPTA

THIS YEAR IS THE 50 YEAR AFTER THE DEATH OF INDIA'S HERO -
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE WHO IS SUPPOSED
TO HAVE DIED IN AN AIR CRASH IN TAIWAN. HIS FAMILY HAS STARTED
THE PROCESS OF TAKING BACK THE ASHES FROM JAPAN. THE ASHES
WERE BROUGHT TO JAPAN DURING THE CHAOTIC PERIOD OF THE WAR AND
THEY REMAINED HERE SINCE THEN. HIS FAMILY IS SAYING '1997
IS BOSE'S 10TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY AND WE WANT TO HAVE THEM BY
THAT TIME'.

THE RETURN IS INITIATED BY A JOURNALIST IN NEW DELHI, MR.
ASHISH RAY(42). MR RAY IS THE GRANDSON OF BOSE'S ELDER BROTHER.

INDIA GOT ITS INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE NON-COOPERATION
MOVEMENT OF MAHATMA GANDHI, BUT BOSE ALSO WORKED FOR INDIA'S
INDEPENDENCE BY PROTESTING AGAINST ENGLAND'S COLONISATION SINCE 1942
AND RECEIVED ASSISTANCE FROM JAPAN. HE WAS KNOWN IN INDIA BY THE
NICK NAME NETAJI, GIVEN TO HIM PEOPLE FOR HIS VALIANT PATRIOTISM.
(HIS LIFE AND WORK) IS INCLUDED IN THE SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS AS HE HAS
A LEGENDARY EXISTENCE. BOSE ESTABLISHED INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY 45
YEARS AGO AND ATTACKED IMPHAL WHICH IS THE INDIAN TERRITORY TODAY
ALONGWITH THE JAPANESE ARMY, BUT FAILED. JUST AFTER THE JAPANESE
DEFEAT IN THE WAR ON 18TH AUGUST, HE MET WITH AN ACCIDENT WHEN HE
HALTED AT JAIPUR AIRPORT WHILE GOING FROM VIETNAM TO DURIEN, CHINA.

AFTER THE ACCIDENT, BOSE WAS CREMATED IN TAIWAN AND THE
CONCERNED PEOPLE BROUGHT THE ASHES TO RENKOJI (TEMPLE) IN
SUGINAMI-KU, TOKYO. MR. RAY HAS ALREADY VISITED JAPAN IN MAY LAST
YEAR AND HAD ASKED (JAPANESE) FOREIGN MINISTRY'S COOPERATION.
HE ALSO WENT TO THE TEMPLE AND SAW THE REMAINS. HE IS GOING TO
PURSUE THE MATTER POSITIVELY.

HOWEVER, IN INDIA HERE IS A GROUP WHICH DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT
BOSE IS DEAD AND THAT THOSE ARE HIS ASHES. AFTER THE WAR, MANY
TIMES THE ISSUE OF RETURN OF THE REMAINS CAME UP BUT EVERY-TIME
IT DIED DOWN BECAUSE OF SUCH PROTEST. THUS, EVEN THIS TIME THE
MOVE ON GOVERNMENT LEVEL IS DULL REGARDING THE RETURN OF THE REMAINS.

TWO YEARS LATER, ON 23RD JANUARY, 1997 IS THE BIRTH CENTENARY
OF BOSE. MR. RAY IS THINKING OF REALIZING THE RETURN BY THAT TIME.
'THE REMAINS ARE CERTAINLY THAT OF BOSE. THE RELATIVES ARE OLD AND
I AM THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN MOVE AROUND. THIS TIME I CERTAINLY WANT
TO REALIZE THE RETURN(OF THE REMAINS),' WERE THE WORDS OF DETERMINED
(MR. RAY).

INDEMBASSY TOKYO

COLIS : T-407 TKY/SM 24 19:00 JST

NNNN

LOK SABHA
UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 7553
TO BE ANSWERED ON 29TH MAY, 1995
ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

7553. SHRI MANJAY LAL:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

विदेश मंत्री

be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is kept in Renkoji Buddhist temple in Tokyo;
- (b) if so, the details thereof;
- (c) whether the local people of Japan, who have preserved the ashes for more than five decades have been urging our country to bring back the ashes to India;
- (d) whether any steps are being taken by the Government to bring back the ashes of Netaji;
- (e) if so, the details thereof; and
- (f) if not, the reasons therefor ?

ANSWER
THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
 (SHRI R. L. BHATIA)

विदेश राज्य मंत्री

(a), (b), (c), (d), (e) & (f) Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was reported to have died in Taipei (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. His body was cremated two days later and the ashes carried to Japan. The ashes have since been maintained at the Renkoji Buddhist Temple in Nakano, Tokyo.

Two Commissions of Enquiry were appointed by The Government of India on the question of Netaji's death in the air crash on August 18, 1945. The first Enquiry Committee set up in 1956 was headed by late Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and included Netaji's elder brother Shri S.C. Bose. The majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in the aircrash and that the ashes at the Renkoji Temple were that of Netaji. However, Netaji's brother Shri S.C. Bose gave a dissenting view. In 1970, the one-man Justice G.D. Khosla Committee also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji Temple contained the ashes of Netaji. There have been attempts to have a new enquiry instituted. There have also been moves to have the ashes brought back to India, with all reverence and honour as befitting a man of the stature of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. However, many people, including Netaji's nephews, still doubt the event of Netaji's reported death and question the veracity of the ashes. In Japan itself, where the ashes are lodged, there have been repeated requests from the Renkoji temple and Japanese associates of Netaji for the ashes to return to India. The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remain divided. Government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes back to India in absence of a consensus on the issue might prove divisive and create tensions.

192

29 मई, 1995 ----- 8 ज्येष्ठ, 1917 शक
को लोक सभा की बैठक में उत्तर दिए जाने के लिए

नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियां

प्रश्न सं. 7553:

श्री मंजय लाल :

क्या विदेश मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

॥क॥ क्या नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियां टोकियो में रेनकोजी, बौद्ध मंदिर में रखी हुई हैं;

॥ख॥ यदि हां, तो तत्संबंधी ब्यौरा क्या है;

॥ग॥ क्या जापान के लोग, जिन्होंने इन अस्थियों को पांच दशक से अधिक समय तक सुरक्षित रखा है वे हमारे देश से इन अस्थियों को भारत वापस ले जाने की मांग कर रहे हैं;

॥घ॥ क्या सरकार नेताजी की इन अस्थियों को वापस लाने के लिए कोई कदम उठा रही है;

॥ड॥ यदि हां, तो तत्संबंधी ब्यौरा क्या है; और

॥च॥ यदि नहीं, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं?

उत्तर :

श्री रघुनंदन लाल भाटिया

विदेश राज्य मंत्री

॥क॥, ॥ख॥, ॥ग॥, ॥घ॥, ॥ड॥ और ॥च॥

बताया जाता है कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस का निधन 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताईपे ताइवान में हो गया था । दो दिन के बाद उनके पार्थिव शरीर का दाह-संस्कार करके उनकी अस्थियों को जापान भेज दिया गया था । तब से उनकी अस्थियां टोकियो स्थित नकानो के रेनकोजी बौद्धमंदिर में रखी हुई हैं ।

18 अगस्त, 1945 को हुई विमान दुर्घटना में नेताजी की मृत्यु के संबंध में भारत सरकार ने दो जांच आयोग नियुक्त किए थे । पहली जांच समिति का गठन 1956 में किया गया था और स्व. श्री शाह नवाज खान इसके अध्यक्ष थे तथा नेताजी के अग्रज श्री एल.टी. बोस भी इस समिति में शामिल थे । अधिकांश लोगों का विचार था कि विमान दुर्घटना में नेताजी की मृत्यु हो गई थी और रेनकोजी मंदिर में रखी अस्थियां

नेताजी की ही हैं। बहरहाल नेताजी के भाई श्री एस. टी. वोस ने इसके विरुद्ध विचार व्यक्त किया था। 1970 में एक-सदस्यीय न्यायमूर्ति श्री जी. डी. खोसला समिति का भी यही निष्कर्ष था कि रेनकोजी मंदिर में रखे कलश में नेताजी की अस्थियां हैं। फिर से नई जांच करवाने के प्रयास भी किए जाते रहे हैं। नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस जैसे व्यक्ति की महत्ता के अनुस्यू श्रद्धा और सम्मान सहित उनकी अस्थियों को भारत लाने के संबंध में भी प्रयास होते रहे हैं। बहरहाल बहुत से लोग जिनमें नेताजी के भतीजे भी शामिल हैं नेताजी की तथा ^{मृत्यु की घटना पर} कथित और इस बात पर अभी भी शंका व्यक्त करते हैं कि क्या ये अस्थियां वास्तव में नेताजी की ही हैं।

जापान में भी, जहां कि नेताजी की अस्थियां रखी हुई हैं, रेनकोजी मंदिर की ओर से तथा नेताजी के जापानी सहयोगियों की ओर से बार-बार नेताजी की अस्थियों को भारत लौटाने के अनुरोध मिलते रहे हैं। नेताजी की मृत्यु का प्रश्न भावनाओं से जुड़ा है और इसके संबंध में विचार वैमिश्रित बना हुआ है। भारत सरकार का विचार है कि सर्वसम्मति के अभाव में नेताजी की अस्थियों को भारत लाना विभाजक सिद्ध हो सकता है और उससे तनाव पैदा होने की संभावना है।

~~Secret.~~
5761/FS to Ambard.
on 3/4/95. (194)
to NCO.

On the basis of Home Secretary
letter.
Netaji Subhash
Bose

Return of Netaji's ashes inadvisable

195
The Asian Age
30.05.95

New Delhi, May 29: The government is of the view that bringing the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose to India in the absence of a consensus, might prove adverse and create tension, minister of state for external affairs R.L. Bhatia told the Lok Sabha on Monday.

The ashes are at present kept in the Renkoji Buddhist temple in Tokyo. Mr Bhatia said the issue of Netaji's death was one charged with emotion and opinions remain divided.

He said Netaji Bose was reported to have died in Taipei (Taiwan), on August 18, 1945.

His body was cremated two days later and the ashes were carried to Japan.

The ashes had since been maintained in the Buddhist temple in Tokyo.

Two committees were appointed by the Indian government to enquire into Netaji's death in an air crash on August 18, 1945.

The first committee, set up in

1956, was headed by the late Shah Nawaz Khan and included Netaji's elder brother, Mr S.C. Bose. The majority opinion held that Netaji died in the air crash and the ashes at the temple were Netaji's. However, Mr S.C. Bose gave a dissenting opinion.

In 1970, the one-person Justice G.D. Khosla Committee also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji temple contained the ashes of Netaji.

There is some talk of a third inquiry committee being constituted.

There have also been moves to have the ashes brought back to India with the honour befitting a man of the Netaji's stature. However, many people, including his nephews, still doubt that Netaji died in the air crash and question the veracity of the ashes.

In Japan, there have been repeated requests from the Renkoji temple and Japanese associates of Netaji to return the ashes to India. (UNI).

28

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Reference above. Mr. Kojima, No. 2 in the Japanese Embassy in Delhi called me today to ask for a copy of the Minister's statement which after checking with JS (Coordination) I have forwarded to him. The Copy of the reply by MOS (RLB) is enclosed. JS (Coordination) had confirmed that since such replies are public documents we have absolutely no difficulty in giving these copies if sought by Japanese Embassy. Mr. Kojima also enquired about Third Inquiry Committee to which I mentioned that our Minister's statement only refers to some talk of such Committee by the public, which is reflected in this reply. He evinced interest in this matter and enquired if Third Committee is being set up to which I replied, I am not aware of any such proposal.

Submitted for information please.

9103/12/93-JP

Y. Varma.
(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (EA)
30.05.95

JS (EA) deng.

Netaji file FS

Sh P

Sen (EA)

No need to trouble
H. at this stage.

57/AT

6/6

LOK SABHA
UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 7553
TO BE ANSWERED ON 29TH MAY, 1985
ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

7553. SHRI MANJAY LAL:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

विदेश मंत्री

be pleased to state:

(a) whether the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is kept in Renkoji Buddhist temple in Tokyo;

(b) if so, the details thereof;

(c) whether the local people of Japan, who have preserved the ashes for more than five decades have been urging our country to bring back the ashes to India;

(d) whether any steps are being taken by the Government to bring back the ashes of Netaji;

(e) if so, the details thereof; and

(f) if not, the reasons therefor ?

ANSWER

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(SHRI R. L. BHATIA)

विदेश राज्य मंत्री

(a) , (b), (c), (d), (e) & (f) Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was reported to have died in Taipei (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. His body was cremated two days later and the ashes carried to Japan. The ashes have since been maintained at the Renkoji Buddhist Temple in Nakano, Tokyo.

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29 197

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011
EAST ASIA DIVISION

No. c/125/14/95-JP

Dt. 31/5/95

Subject:- Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 7553 answered
on 29/5/95 regarding Ashes of Netaji Subhas
Chandra Bose.

.....

Dear Mission,

We are sending herewith copies of the texts of
the abovementioned Lok Sabha question and answer for
your information and record.

Yours ever,

Ministry.

The Embassy of India,
Tokyo.

Issued with encl.
1/6/95

109
(30)

r. 515 / 10 am 135
30/5/95
MP/10/02/85
2/2

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi

Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha)

29th May, 1995

Dear Shri Mukherjee,

The history of the last days of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is still unsolved and there are many in this country who believe that all the facts regarding these fateful days of 1945 pertaining to Netaji are not yet known.

2. Immediately after the alleged air-crash in former Formosa, Genl. Mac Arthur, the Chief of the US Pacific Army, Adml. Mountbatten, the Chief of the S.E. Asian Allied Army and the UK Counter Intelligence conducted three separate enquiries on the incident. Later, it is believed the Chiang Kai Shekh Govt. of Taiwan also conducted a separate enquiry to verify the facts about the incident involving Netaji. All these four reports are with their respective governments. As far as I know, Govt. of India have not made any effort to procure those documents. Those Governments have also not made them public so far. Our own efforts in the form of Khosla Commission of Inquiry were not satisfactory.

3. Next year i.e. in 1996, I hope the nation will be observing the Centenary celebrations of the great son of India Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It will be in the fitness of things if the four enquiry reports, referred to above are procured by Govt. of India from the respective Governments and published for the information of the Indian people. In continuation to this effort it will also be useful to find out from the Russian Government about the material they have in their archives because it was widely believed that Netaji after August, 1945 had taken political asylum in the USSR.

4. I should be grateful if you would kindly give a thought to the points made above and let me know your reaction. I will eagerly await your response.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI)

Shri Pranab Mukherjee
Minister for External Affairs,
Govt. of India,
South Block,
NEW DELHI.,



199

31

N. 515 / 10000 / 185

10607 / FS / 1957
29/6.

विदेश मंत्री
भारत
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

23 June 1995

Dear Joshi.

I have received your letter dated 29th May 1995
regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

I am having the matter looked into.

over sent.

Yours sincerely,

(PRANAB MUKHERJEE)

Shri Murli Manohar Joshi
Member of Parliament(RS)
22, Gurdwara Rakab Ganj Road
NEW DELHI 110 001

Copy along with letter under reference in
original forwarded to Foreign Secretary for
necessary action.

I believe this subject is handled by MHA -
Ad. you pl. check & confirm?
M. 20/6
Spoken to Dir (Ext). 11/7

(Omita Paul)
OSD to EAM

200

*P. Joshi
4/7
for am*

DRAFT

No.

July 1995

I am writing in continuation of my letter No.V.515/EAM/95 of June 23 regarding your suggestions relating to the centenary celebrations of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. As the subject matter falls within the purview of the Ministry of Home Affairs, I am bringing your letter to the notice of the Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,

(Pranab Mukherjee)

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi
Member of Parliament
(Rajya Sabha)
22, Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Road
New Delhi - 110001.

N.O.O.

Copy to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, along with the copy of Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi's letter under reference.

(Pranab Mukherjee)

4/6/7 (S.B. Chavan)



201

32



S-1066/2000/195

विदेश मंत्री
भारत
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

4 July 1995

Dear Dr Joshi

I am writing in continuation of my letter of 23 June regarding your suggestions relating to the centenary celebrations of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. As the subject matter falls within the purview of the Ministry of Home Affairs, I am bringing your letter to the notice of the Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,

(PRANAB MUKHERJEE)

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi
Member of Parliament
(Rajya Sabha)
22, Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Road
New Delhi - 110001



S-1066/EAM/85

विदेश मंत्री
भारत
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

4 July 1995

I am writing in continuation of my letter of 23 June regarding your suggestions relating to the centenary celebrations of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. As the subject matter falls within the purview of the Ministry of Home Affairs, I am bringing your letter to the notice of the Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
(PRANAB MUKHERJEE)

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi
Member of Parliament
(Rajya Sabha)
22, Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Road
New Delhi - 110001

Copy to Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister, along with the copy of Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi's letter under reference.


(PRANAB MUKHERJEE)

Enclosure as above

The Pioneer

203
48-1995

Netaji's remains can't be brought back: Rao

Tarun Basu

Kuala Lumpur

PRIME MINISTER P V Narasimha Rao on Thursday told an old freedom fighter here that the remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose could not be brought back to India from Japan because "there is a political party that still thinks that he is alive."

Dato S G Gill, a 71-year old Sikh businessman, got up at the end of Mr Rao's lunch with Malaysian businessmen at Hotel Concorde to ask why Bose's remains were still in Tokyo and why the Indian Government was not making any efforts towards taking them over half a century after his death. He said INA patriots and their progenies had been pursuing this demand for a long time.

Mr Rao said he had visited the place in Tokyo where Netaji's remains were kept and had spoken to the old couple who were doing a great service to India by preserving them. "But my real difficulty is that there is a political party, the Forward Bloc, which still thinks that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive."

"How do you think of the remains of a person who is still supposed to be alive? It is not an

easy matter. There is a whole lot of emotional overtones to the issue," Mr Rao said.

But Mr Rao hoped that there would be a time in the not too distant future when the controversy would end and it would be possible to bring his remains back.

He assured Mr Gill that all necessary steps were being taken for the proper preservation of the remains.

Mr Gill later told IANS that his work as an INA activist in then Malaya was to assemble and conceal radio transmitters and receivers inside musical instruments like the harmonium to keep in contact with INA activists in India during early days of the resistance against British rule.

He said INA activists here ran Azad Hind Schools at which litterateurs like Sarat Chandra Chatterjee were alumni at one time. His brother, Amrik Singh Gill, was sentenced to death for subversive activity by the British which was then commuted to life imprisonment.

Mr Gill, a second generation Malaysian, is chairman of a number of companies, including Godrej (Malaysia).

IANS

Shw P.

201
NATION

31.8.94

Indian tempers rise over recall of skirts

PRATAP CHAKRAVARTY
Agence France-Presse

N31

NEW DELHI — Export houses here are up in arms against a US campaign for the recall of 250,000 Indian skirts from the US market, saying it is aimed at slurring the gauzy garments and other local textile products.

An Indian delegation left for Washington this week to counter the US Consumer Product Safety Commission's campaign to recall the rayon skirts from American retailers nationwide on the grounds they are a fire hazard.

The delegation will tell the US officials of the efficacy of India's textile industry and reassure consumers of the quality of the skirts, now in disrepute, because of the campaign, officials said.

"We have too much at stake. We can't ignore this nasty tirade," said DK Nayar, director of the Apparel Exports Promotion Council (AEPC).

Textiles account for more than a quarter

of India's total overseas sales, which in the last fiscal year amounted to \$22 billion, and are the single largest item in the export basket.

The AEPC, an apex government forum which regulates textile exports, has accused the United States of using the skirts issue to impose protectionist barriers ahead of the progressive dismantling of quota systems in the post-Gatt era.

"The skirts are just a ploy to set up anti-import measures," Nayar said of the US consumer commission's Aug 12 allegations that a fire started by a single match could consume one of the gauzy skirts in three seconds.

The controversial skirts sell for between \$6 and \$80, and most are marked "Made in India" under the existing quota system.

"We don't expect American girls to be stupid enough to go near a fire wearing these dresses," the executive quoted a letter written by a US importer of the ankle-length Indian skirts as saying.

India has ordered exporters to dispatch

rayon skirts to the United States or elsewhere only after subjecting them to flammability tests.

India's textile exports between April and June this year reached \$883.26 million against \$676.13 million in the corresponding period in 1993-94. The jump marked a growth of 30.06 per cent in overseas sales.

Textile exports last year touched \$7.9 billion, a 20.8 per cent rise over sales in fiscal 1992-93.

Last June, India achieved 23 per cent of its \$10 billion target set for 1994-95's overseas sales of its textiles, yarn fabrics, clothing, handicrafts, jute and coir materials.

"But this tirade has now scared American consumers away from all Indian products," said Apparel Export Manufacturers' Association president Shankar Mazumdar.

Mazumdar said Indian garment manufacturers would have to spend at least three million dollars to woo back American women to Indian boutiques.

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The Pioneer

11-8-1995

Netaji's 'death' mystery still haunts Forward Bloc

Vijay Simha

New Delhi

FOR THE next seven days, about three lakh people in the country will be pondering over an issue that has been bothering them for some years now: How to observe August 18, the day Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was reported to have been killed 50 years ago in an air crash in Taiwan.

The three lakh people are all members of the Forward Bloc, a Leftist party founded by Subhas Bose in 1939, who still wonder what actually happened on that fateful day half a century ago.

The Forward Bloc does not consider the plane crash in which

Netaji is "alleged to have died" as conclusive proof and has held successive Indian governments guilty of not probing the crash.

The charge is still being levelled but there has been a change in the Forward Bloc's perception: From the initial insistence that Netaji is alive, the party now refuses to commit itself to whether Subhas Bose is alive or dead.

And this question is one of the issues to be taken up by the Forward Bloc's central committee which is meeting on August 12 and 13 in the Capital.

"The party has not passed any resolution on whether Netaji is alive or dead. We will discuss the issues arising out of Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao's state-

ments on this in Malaysia," said Mr Chitta Basu, Forward Bloc's general secretary.

Mr Basu was referring to the Prime Minister's light-hearted banter over the issue in an interface with Malaysian businessmen at Kuala Lumpur during his visit there last week.

At the interface, a Malaysian-Indian, who was associated with the Indian freedom struggle, wondered why India was not bringing back Netaji's ashes from Japan, when Japan was willing to part with it.

Mr Narasimha Rao is reported to have said there was a "genuine difficulty" in bringing back Netaji's remains. He added: "In India, there is a political party

which believes Netaji is still alive. And the ashes cannot be of a living person."

Mr Rao explained that the Forward Bloc's belief of Netaji being alive had emotional overtones and it was not easy for the Government to act on it. Mr Rao hoped that after some years, nobody will be able to make claims about Netaji being alive.

All this has angered the Forward Bloc. "The Prime Minister has done wrong. I am not saying that Netaji is either alive or dead. All I am asking is for a Government probe into Netaji's disappearance. As an Indian patriot I have a right to know what happened during his last days," said Mr Basu.

The Forward Bloc refers to former Prime Minister Morarji Desai's statement in Parliament, in 1977-78, that Netaji's death has "no conclusive proof".

"Therefore, we are asking for a probe on the basis of the evidence with the Government. They must seek the material available in the war archives of Japan, Burma, USA, UK, Singapore and the erstwhile USSR," Mr Basu said.

Even the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Who Was Who* of eminent Indians have treated the issue with caution. Both say Netaji "reportedly" died in a plane crash. While the *Brittanica* says Bose, who was born on January 23, 1897, died on August

19, 1945, the Indian book lists his death a day earlier. If he were alive, he would be 98 years old.

The man on whom the dilemma centres was a revolutionary whose role in the freedom struggle was different from that of Mahatma Gandhi. Bose's methods were mostly military and he founded the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army).

The two leaders parted ways in 1939 after Bose was re-elected Congress president defeating Gandhi's nominee. But the "rebel president" chose to quit citing lack of support from Gandhi.

Despite their differences, Gandhi called Bose "a patriot of patriots".

Sh. P

upto 1.00 P.M. on all working days and upto 11.30 A.M. Saturdays or in the shape of deposit at call receipts or demand draft drawn in favour of the Director, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi-29. The cash receipt of th AIIMS or deposit at call receipt or demand draft should be attached with tender documents. Tender form with details of conditions can be had from the office of Executive Engineer (A/C) AIIMS upto 1.00 P.M. on any working day upto 22.8.95 on payment of Rs. 500/- (Non refundable) to be deposited with the cashier of the Institute. Income Tax clearance certificate and enlistment document will have to be produced before the tender document are given to the intending tenderer. Tenders are open to the specialised firms who have successfully completed at least two similar jobs in Govt. costing not less than 60% of the estimated cost of work.

Sd/-

(HARBHAJAN SINGH)
EXECUTIVE ENGINEER (A/C)

appearance of Emma's husband, Jack, a never-do-well guy. Hoping to get back into her life, he returns to the ranch.

How the triangle is resolved with Emma leaning towards Jack or phy all the time?

The film took 55 days to shoot on location with a budget of 10 million.

Cast: Sally Field (the winning actress as Emma), James Garner (Murphy), Brian Kerwin (Bob), Corey Haim (Jake), Emma's son), Dennis Hopper (Georgann Johnson), Duckworth, etc.

At 10.40 pm Metro (C) **AKALMAND** (Hindi) directed by N S Rajbhandari is a remake of a hit Telugu film. Harath has also written the story and screenplay. Khan, who has written the spirited dialogue, has a supporting role which lightens the tedious proceedings.



AMBASSADOR

S. 1252/EAM/95
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13745/FS/95

31/8

~~SECRET~~

S-3938-JS/EA/95

28/8

भारत का राजदूतावास, टोकियो

Embassy of India,
2-11, Kudan-Minami 2-chome,
Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102
Telex: 2324886 INDEMB J
Phone: 03(3262)2391
Fax: 03(3234)4866

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No. TOK/102/2/92

August 25, 1995

My dear

Ranga,

Please refer to the correspondence concerning the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. As you are aware, a memorial service is held every year on August 18, which is the death anniversary of Netaji. This ceremony is normally attended by Minister (Consular) in the Embassy.

2. I attach a copy of a note recorded by Minister (Consular) after he attended this year's ceremony. You will notice that the remarks by the Priest and others confirm our assessment sent earlier that there should be no problem in continuing to keep the ashes in their present location till other arrangements can be made.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

K. Sahdev

(Kuldip Sahdev)

for information

Shri T.C.A. Rangachari,
Joint Secretary (EA),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi

for info.

May like to see

J. / Mithun
31/8

EAM

1/9/95

JS (EA)

for info

for info

Sh P

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On Aug. 18, 1995, I attended the memorial service at the Renkoji Temple organised by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy to mark the 50th death anniversary. It may be recalled that the organisers had called last year's memorial service as the 50th memorial service "as per the calculations of the Buddhist tradition." This year's ceremony also was called the 50th memorial service. On my casual query with the organisers, they replied with a smile. It appears that the "Buddhist tradition was used by Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Academy, last year to support his announcement that last year's memorial service was going to be the last service - being the 50th memorial service.

2. The memorial service was held at 1 p.m. in the main temple and was conducted by Rev. Mochizuki, son of late Rev. Mochizuki who had received Netaji's ashes at this temple. About 50 persons attended the service this year like in previous years. Only last year the attendance was about 70 because of the announcement that that was going to be the last memorial service. After the conclusion of the memorial service at about 2 p.m. all the 50 persons moved to a hall where speeches were delivered by members of the Subhash Chandra Bose Academy and other guests. The speeches mostly related to reminiscences of their association with Netaji and INA as most of the members of the Academy had known Netaji personally and remember Netaji with great personal regard and affection. Towards the end of the function, I was also asked to speak a few words. In a brief speech, I thanked Rev. Mochizuki, Mr. Hayashi and other functionaries of the Academy for organising the function. I pointed out that the function organised this year witnessed much more enthusiasm and dynamism among the members of the Academy. As desired by the Ambassador, I also informed the audience that our Foreign Minister Shri Pranab Mukerjee is planning to visit Tokyo on the invitation of the government of Japan and he may like to visit Renkoji Temple sometime during Sept. 6-8, 1995. I added that detailed programme will be communicated to Mr. M. Hayashi as and when finalised.

3. Mr. M. Hayashi, Secretary of the Academy, stated in his speech that members of the Academy were very hopeful that Netaji's ashes will be repatriated with honour to India before his birth centenary falling in 1997. He referred to a letter received by Mr. T. Shimoda, a member of the Academy from one Mr. L. Joychandra Singh, a journalist of Imphal (Manipur, India) who had visited Renkoji Temple, Tokyo, about 4 years ago. He requested Mr. Shimoda to read out the letter. Mr. Shimoda distributed copies of the letter (at Appendix A) to several members of the audience along with a press clipping from 'The Telegraph' dt. Aug. 4, 1995 (at Appendix B) covering our Prime Minister's reply given in Kuala Lumpur to an old freedom fighter "on the question of bringing back the remains of Netaji to India". Mr. Shimoda explained to the audience the differing opinions held in India about the death of Netaji and pointed out Mr. L. Joychandra Singh's proposal that one Russian language knowing

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person of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, Japan, should accompany Mr. Singh to Moscow to read the documents about the death of Netaji. Mr. Hayashi replied to this proposal on behalf of the members of the Netaji Academy. He asserted that all the members of the Academy believed beyond doubt that Netaji's ashes are kept at Renkoji Temple and anything else is a rumour. He added that in view of this belief Joychandra Singh's proposal made no sense and deserved no consideration.

4. Like previous years, the function was attended by TV and press reporters. The names of two TV reporters who met me are enclosed. While I was coming out of the temple after the function, TV Tokyo reporter asked me two questions in front of the TV camera. One question related to the government of India's position regarding the issue of repatriation of Netaji's ashes to India. I replied that this issue was still under consideration of the government of India and there was nothing new which I could add. The second question related to whether our Foreign Minister is definitely visiting the Renkoji Temple. I replied that the programme of the Foreign Minister's visit is still being finalised and we will come to know of his detailed programme in due course.

5. Though Gaimusho officials have always been invited in the past, they have not been attending this function during the last few years. This year Director, South-West Asia Division, Mr. Yoshihiko Kamo, and Mr. Masaharu Shimizu also of the same Division, visited the temple for about half-an-hour while the memorial service was in progress. They came after the memorial service had started and left before it ended. After the service I came to know of their presence. Later I talked to Mr. Shimizu on phone who said that they wanted to see the condition of the temple in the context of the impending visit of our Foreign Minister. He added that they found the temple in good condition.

6. During my informal talk with members of the Academy I gathered that most of the members are very enthusiastic about continuing the memorial service. Even Rev. Mochizuki is reported to have told members of the Academy that if members of the Academy are not in a position to continue this service due to their old age at any future stage, he would be happy to carry out the service every year. Other members like Mr. Okuda, Managing Director, Saudi Arabia Airlines, Tokyo, Mr. Kawamura who was formerly running a public accounts office expressed that memorial service will never stop.

Submitted for information.

Bhaw
22.08.95.

(Bhushan Jain)
Minister

~~Ambassador~~

J. Sahdev

298 2

L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax. No.— 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra Imphal
0091—385—222936
0091—385—220471

Phone { 220147 [o]
221538 [o]
220471 [R]

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

Imphal 7 Aug 1995.

Dear Mr. T. Shimoda,

Our Prime Minister is very much willing to bring the "Remains" of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. He expressed his desire at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 3rd August 1995 to Mr. S.G. Gill. The newspaper cutting of it is enclosed herewith.

Mr. Chitta Basu, MP, General Secretary, Forward Bloc who came to me at Imphal twice requested me to confirm the death of Netaji on 18 August 1945 at Taipei from Russia.

My friend in Germany Mr. Elke Wijithapala wrote me a letter that the documents of the death of Netaji has been lying at

USSR, RSFSR
Maly Karetny I2
IO3I5I Moscow
MEMORIAL
Phone - 299II80

I have been trying to visit Moscow for the last 2-3 years, but I can't do so because I cannot go alone there. I want to accompany a person who knows Russian language very fluently.

Would you kindly consider to request to some important member of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Academy, Japan to find out the possibility of visiting there (Moscow) to study War Records connected with Taipei plane crash.

P.T.O.

210

JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax. No.— 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra Imphal
0091—385—222936
0091—385—220471

Phone { 220147 [o]
221538 [o]
220471 [R]

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

(2)

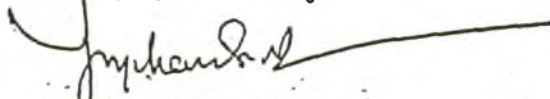
Once we got the confirmation of the death of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, I think the forward Bloc which has been objecting bringing of the "Remains" (ashes) of Subash Chandra Bose to India will not object it.

I shall be very grateful, if you kindly consider to discuss this matter with the important members of the Subash Chandra Bose Academy to find out the ways and means for visiting Moscow to study the War Records and locate the documents of the death of Netaji from Russian side.

An early comment or views on this subject will be highly appreciated.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely



(L. Joychandra Singh)

Following renewed threats by terrorist groups and the recent bomb blasts in Jammu city, the administration has decided to deploy nearly 40,000 jawans drawn from the Army, BSF, CRPF and the J & K Police for the smooth conduct of the Amarnath Yatra, which started on Aug. 1st from Jammu.

Security Forces are already setting up Check Post and Bunkers all along the 49 km track from Pahalgam to the Holy Shrine, situated a height of more than 12,464 ft.

The Army has also formed special 'Crack Teams'. The devotees will be escorted by army troops.

Rao on Netaji's 'remains'

From TARUN BASU

KUALA LUMPUR, Aug. 3. — The Prime Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, today told an old freedom fighter here that the "remains" of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose could not be brought back to India from Japan because "there is a political party that still thinks that he is alive".

Mr S. G. Gill, a 71-year old Sikh businessman, got up at the end of Mr Rao's lunch with Malaysian businessmen at Hotel Concorde to ask why Bose's "remains" were still in Tokyo and why the Indian Government was not making any efforts towards taking them over half a century after his "death". He said INA patriots and their progenies had been pursuing this demand for a long time.

Mr Rao said he had visited the place in Tokyo where Netaji's "remains" were kept and had spoken to the old couple who were doing a great service to India by preserving them. "But my real difficulty is that there is a political party, the Forward Bloc, which still thinks that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive."

"How do you think of the 'remains' of a person who is still supposed to be alive? It is not not an easy matter. There is a whole lot of emotional overtones to the issue", Mr Rao said to laughter.

But Mr Rao hoped that there would be a time in the not too distant future when the controversy would end and it would be possible to bring his

"remains" back. Meanwhile, he assured Mr Gill that all necessary steps were being taken for the proper preservation of the "remains".

Mr Gill later said his work as an INA activist in then Malaya was to assemble and conceal radio transmitters and receivers inside musical instruments like the harmonium to keep in contact with INA activists in India.

He said INA activists here ran Azad Hind Schools which was attended by writers like Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. His brother, Amrik Singh Gill, was sentenced to death for subversive activities by the British which was then commuted to life imprisonment.

— India
Abroad News Service.

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TELEGRAPH DATED 4 AUG 1995

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NEWS DEPARTMENT

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Div (JK)

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विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-11
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

T.C.A. Rangachari
Joint Secretary(EA)
Tel.No.3012760

9c

No. S-3938 JS(EA)/95

4 September, 1995

Dear Ambassador,

Please refer to your letter No.TOK/102/2/92 dated 25 August, 1995. The letter has been seen by FS and EAM.

Warm Regards,

Yours sincerely,

(T.C.A. Rangachari)

Shri Kuldip Sahdev,
Ambassador of India,
Tokyo.

Sh P

35 214
S-1256/200mlsr
1191

4048-3164)KJ
4/8

66 8523
PHONE : 66 1242
6867617

ALL INDIA FREEDOM FIGHTERS' ORGANISATION

RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Working President :
SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE, ex - M. P.
General Secretary :
SHASHI BHUSHAN, ex M.P.

SECULAR HOUSE
9/1, Institutional Area, (Opp. JNU)
Aruna Asaf Ali Marg,
NEW DELHI - 110 067

P
31/8

August 30, 1995

Dear Shri Pranab Mukherjee,

For us freedom fighters, it is a culmination of our persistent effort over a period of nearly three decades that National Museum of the INA in the Salimgarh Fort and the National Museum of Freedom Movement (from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 to the Movement for Merger of Princely States in the Union of India in 1948-49 and the Liberation of Goa in 1961) are being established.

I write this to seek your help in making the National Museum of the INA a grand repository of the heroic record of the Indian National Army as well as of the life and work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

As you know, some filmed record of the activities of Netaji was prepared by the Japanese and it must be preserved in the Japanese archives.

It shall be highly appropriate the film clippings of the days of formation of the INA are obtained from Japan and perserved in the INA Museum so that these might be available for research scholars and might also be used for making a film on the life of Netaji.

I request you to kindly write to the Foreign Minister of the Japanese Government and also to our Ambassador in Tokyo to procure these documentary films of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan for the National Museum of the INA.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shashi Bhushan

(Shashi Bhushan)
ex-M.P.

Shri Pranab Mukherjee,
Minister of External Affairs,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

J2(EA)

8/8



सत्यमेव जयते

T.C.A. Rangachari
Joint Secretary(EA)

Tele:3012760

No. 6048 / JS(EA)/95

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

4 September, 1995

Dear Shri Ravi,

I am annexing a copy of a letter from the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation addressed to EAM.

2. You might wish to have some discreet enquiries made as to whether any such film clippings exist.

Yours sincerely,

(T.C.A. Rangachari)

Shri N. Ravi,
Deputy Chief of Mission,
Embassy of India,
TOKYO.

92

AP



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विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

F A X

No. 4033/JS(EA)/95

5 September, 1995

From: Foreign New Delhi

To: Indembassy Tokyo

N. Ravi from JS(EA)

Your fax of 4 September regarding formulation for press briefing on the issue of Nataji's ashes. FS feels that a formulation can be devised after the meeting with the Foreign Minister and depending on discussions that take place.

T.C.A. Rangachari
(T.C.A. Rangachari)
Joint Secretary(EA)

o/c

Wanna
5/9/95

US (Int) by 2/9
So far / Paul
8/9/95

The Times of India

5-9-1995

212

Ashes not of Netaji, says nephew

The Times of India News
Service

CALCUTTA, September 4: Amiya Nath Bose, nephew of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the eldest surviving member of the Bose family, has in a letter to Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, made it clear that the family did not consider the ashes preserved at the Renkoji temple in Tokyo belonged to Netaji.

Mr Bose has written the letter in the context of the Prime Minister's recent remark while on a visit to Malaysia about the difficulties in bringing back to India the ashes of Netaji from the Renkoji temple in Tokyo.

In his reply, the Prime Minister said he had taken note of the contents of Mr Bose's letter.

In his letter, Mr Bose said he had conclusive documentary evidence that Netaji was alive in the Soviet Union till July 22, 1946. He had no knowledge what happened to Netaji after that date. "But one thing is certain that the ashes kept at the Renkoji temple are not the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose," he asserted.

Mr Bose said he was convinced that there had not been any air crash at Taihoku airport on August 18, 1945, when Netaji was believed to have been killed. He said U.S. intelligence reports said the photograph of the damaged plane shown was in fact that of an American bomber which crashed at Taihoku airport in 1944.

The letter also discloses the fact that Gandhiji, after talking to Col. Habibur Rahaman who accompanied Netaji in the plane journey from Saigon to Taihoku, came to the conclusion that Netaji had not died in the air crash. In fact, Gandhiji forbade Netaji's family to perform any shradh ceremony.

Thanks. Y. N. 6/9

Dir. (JH)

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F A X

No. 4361/JS(EA)/95

18 September, 1995

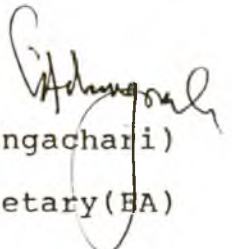
From: Foreign New Delhi

To: Indembassy Moscow

Deputy Chief of Mission from JS(EA)

Annexed is a PTI report which appeared in PIONEER of 14 September.

2. Would appreciate any comments you may have which could be sent by Bag, if necessary.


(T.C.A. Rangachari)
Joint Secretary(EA)

e/c

US/63

YV
2019

US(\$re)
2019

Sent to the section
for transmission since
we were not getting the line

19/9/95
DIA (JK)

Metage's file
Sh P

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209

The Pioneer

14-9-1995

Papers relating to Netaji in KGB archives?

PTI

Calcutta

SEVERAL DOCUMENTS relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his mysterious disappearance are still lying in the inaccessible archives of the disbanded KGB and in the official archives of the Russian president in Kremlin.

Special permission of the Russian Government is required to scrutinise them and it is believed that examination of these documents may eventually unravel the mystery behind Netaji's disappearance at the end of the World War II, according to three scholars of the Asiatic Society who recently visited some of the 10 archives in Moscow under an

Indo-Russian cultural agreement.

Dr Purabi Roy (Jadavpur University), Dr Hari Vasudevan and Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta (both of Calcutta University) visited Moscow as scholars of the Asiatic Society, as part of the cultural agreement signed between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, to compile accessible materials pertaining to the Indo-Russian relations during 1917 and 1947.

They told newsmen here that they faced "utmost" difficulty in studying the available documents in the archives.

Since the available documents relating to Indian history were mostly in "disarray," the archives in the KGB office and in the President's archive in Kremlin are expected to reveal the hitherto unknown facts about

Netaji, they felt.

Asiatic Society general secretary Chandan Roychowdhury said the Prime Minister would be moved to request the Russian President to allow Indian scholars to have access to his archive in the Kremlin and also in the KGB in Moscow for collecting more information about Indian leaders.

The scholars, who spent about \$ 6,000 dollars to get access to the archives in Moscow, said that in most cases, they were not allowed to study the required files and documents. The problems were further accentuated due to 'restriction' imposed by a section of officials of the Indian embassy in Moscow, they alleged.

On the revealing facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, they said that documents at the archives of the External Affairs

Ministry of the Russian federation indicated that Russian agent V G Sayadyant, who was allowed to function in India by the British Government, carried a letter from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in August, 1946 to Moscow on way to Teheran "which had a mention about Netaji being alive".

Moreover, the scholars quoted an article of V Turadzev, a sub-editor of *Asia and Africa Today*, found among the archival materials, to say that the Russian agent sought to convey the message to Moscow in September, 1946, that the Soviets might have to contact "Forward Bloc as one of the major political parties in India and its leader Subhas Chandra Bose". These references pointed to Netaji being alive even in 1946, the scholars said.

Dir/Gen

JS(EA)

2/18/9

NATION
20.8.94

World Report

Naga separatists kill 22 Indian soldiers

NEW DELHI — Separatist guerrillas in Nagaland, a border state in India's northeast, shot and killed 22 soldiers on Thursday, *United News of India* reported.

The worst guerrilla attack in recent years occurred in Senapati district. Details were sketchy, but reports said the soldiers were ambushed in a daring daytime attack.

The soldiers were part of an Indian troop presence in the area to prevent clashes between the Nagas and the rival Kuki tribe.

220
The Hindustan Times

18.9.1995

20 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, NEW DELHI, MONDAY SEPTEMBER 18 1995

Japanese seek relief from sacred duty

By Vinod Sharma

NEW DELHI, Sept. 17

The Japanese veterans of World War-II now want to be relieved of a duty they have so selflessly performed for 50 years, since the reported death in an air crash of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945.

Placed in an urn at Renkoji Temple near Tokyo, the ashes of Netaji have been in the custody and care of these soldiers of yore. Some among them were 28 when they first met the revolutionary Indian leader. They are now 82. It is in view of their advancing years that they have formally sought the return of the relic to India.

The request was conveyed by the war veterans to External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee during his recent visit to Japan. In fact, Sept. 8 was an important day for the Indian leader from West Bengal. Before calling on the Japanese

Emperor, he visited that morning the Renkoji Temple to pay homage to Netaji.

Others who accompanied Mr Mukherjee on the temple tour included his wife Subhra, Foreign Secretary Salman Haider and India's Ambassador to Japan, Mr Kuldeep Sahdev. For a good half-an-hour they attended a prayer meeting, lit joss-sticks on the urn containing the ashes and spoke to the Japanese war veterans.

Flanked by other members of the delegation, the Mukherjee couple appeared visibly moved as the elderly Japanese escorted them down the memory lane; recounting the days of Azad Hind Fauj and its Netaji amid cries of 'Chalo Dilli...'

Captured on a video film, a copy of which is available here, the high point of the meeting was the famous INA (Azad Hind Fauj) song: "Kadam Kadam Milaye Ja, Khushi Ke Geet Gaye Ja, Yeh Zindagi Hai Quam Ki, Tu Quam Pe Lutaye Ja..." Rendered haltingly by a war

veteran, it left the visitors blinking back tears.

In India, the return of Netaji's ashes has for long been the subject of a fierce controversy, a section of his family members and followers refusing to believe that he died in the air disaster at Taihoku in Taiwan. Quite conscious of this background, a war veteran, who spoke on behalf of his other Japanese colleagues, remarked: "We appreciate that it (the acceptance of the relic) is not an easy task for you. But we are sincerely expecting it to happen in the near future."

From what they told Mr Mukherjee, it was obvious that the war veterans made the request out of a strong feeling of commitment to the memory of the Indian leader, whom they fondly referred to as Netaji Gen. Bose. "It is our sincere desire," they said, "that your excellency will pay attention to the return of (Netaji's) ashes to his motherland to be welcomed by the people of India... For 50 years, we have been keep-

ing them here in this temple. But now we are getting old."

The 100th birthday of Netaji would fall on Jan. 23 next year, marking the start of his centenary. Of his part, Mr Mukherjee said that the return of the "relic of holy ashes" was under "deep" consideration of the Indian Government.

He said: "In regard to this matter, we are in the process of consultation with the relatives of Netaji, his daughter and also other important political leaders... We hope to arrive at some conclusion after this process of consultations."

The operative part of Mr Mukherjee's brief address, however, was that a firm decision on the sensitive issue could be expected around the centenary year of Netaji. "It would be appropriate," he said, "that the remains are taken to India and properly kept in a monument. Netaji would continue to inspire generation after generation by what he did for the freedom of his country, and for the liberation of humanity."

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JS (EA)

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Netaji file

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19-9-1995

(22)

Govt apathy leaves Netaji's fate buried in Moscow's files

by Udayan Nambodiri

CALCUTTA, Sept 18: If historians are to be believed, two files lying in the archives of the disbanded KGB at Moscow may help solve the mystery shrouding the fate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Netaji's 'death' in an air crash in Taiwan's Taihoku airport in August 1945 remains to this day, the biggest enigma in the annals of the freedom movement. Even Mahatma Gandhi had refused to give credence to that story.

But a 'tragic' aspect of the Netaji disappearance story is the continued apathy of the Indian Government. Scholars are finding it an uphill task to persuade the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) to cooperate in order to unravel the truth behind the untimely death of the great nationalist leader.

Governments around the world are seized of the opportunities presented by the dissolution of USSR. They are encouraging their historians to go through the hitherto secret archives in Moscow and dig out facts lost behind the cobwebs of the iron curtain.

The Russian Government is

quite generous about opening up these archives," Dr Hari Vasudevan of Calcutta University's Russian Studies department told *Indian Express* here today. "But while scholars of most Western countries are making the most of the archives, we are suffering due to the quirky attitude of the MEA."

Dr Vasudevan had recently spent four months in Moscow as part of an Asiatic Society team studying and compiling material pertaining to Indo-USSR relations between 1917 and 1947.

Two other historians, apart from Dr Vasudevan were involved in the research. They are Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta of Calcutta University and Dr Purabi Roy of Jadavpore University.

They required letters from the MEA to read the two files located at the KGB archives. The letter was a pre-requisite to obtain Russian Government's permission. But repeated requests to Salman Khurshid, Minister of State, and even the Prime Minister, went unheeded.

The most the Government would condescend to do was send a

note verbale' in late 1991 seeking clarifications as to Netaji's presence in the USSR in 1945. "To this the Russians send a few lines repeating the worn out Soviet stand," Dr Vasudevan said. But as evidence shows, the new dispensation at Moscow was not very truthful either.

The trio spent four months at Moscow this year ferreting out papers pertaining to Indo-Soviet relations during 1917 to 1947. This followed an agreement between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow.

What is heartening about archival research at the Russian front is that, by now other countries - especially those from the West - have succeeded in cataloguing documents kept in the erstwhile CPSU, Comintern, Russian Federation, Russian State Archive of Economy, Archives of Army History, etc.

One notable success was attained by Sweden which cracked the mystery behind the Wallenberg disappearance in Stalinist USSR during World War II.

Sh. P.



N. Ravi

Minister/Deputy Chief of Mission

4724/JS(EA)/95

9/2

भारत का राजदूतावास, टोकियो

Embassy of India,

2-11, Kudan-Minami 2-chome,

Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102

Telex: 2324886INDEMB J

Phone: 03(3262)2391

Fax: 03(3234)4366

3339/6A2/95-
10/10

No.TOK/102/2/92

September 22, 1995

Dear *Shri. Rangachari,*

Please refer to your letter No.4048/JS(EA)/95 dated 4th September, 1995. We have initiated action to ascertain whether film clippings on Netaji's activities are available here. We will keep you posted about further progress in this regard.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

N. Ravi
(N. Ravi) 22/9

Shri T.C.A. Rangachari,
Joint Secretary (EA)
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

Shri. Rangachari

W 9/10

Sir (Ravi)

USC (Ravi)

So (Ravi) 9/10

17/10/95

S. P



M. Ganapathi
Minister(Pol)

MOS/POL/125/1/90

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को
EMBASSY OF INDIA,
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Polye
MOSCOW
Tel. No. 917-0820
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU
Tele Fax-9752337

September 29, 1995

Dear Rangachari,

Kindly refer to your fax No.4360/JS(EA)/95 dated September 18, 1995 forwarding a report which had appeared in the "Pioneer" of September 14, 1995 on papers relating to Netaji. Ambassador had taken up this issue with the Foreign Office here in July 1995 and copies of the note verbale and Ambassador's letter to JS(EE) in this regard is enclosed for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Yours sincerely,

(M. Ganapathi)

✓ Shri T.C.A. Rangachari,
Joint Secretary(EA),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

Netaji file
6-10
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AMBASSADOR

No.MOS/AMB/979/95

EMBASSY OF INDIA,
MOSCOW.

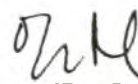
July 27, 1995

You will recall that vide their Note Verbale No.2/YuA of January 8, 1992 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation had informed us that as per data available in their Central and Republican Archives, there was no information available about the stay of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years. However, speculation in this regard apparently continues to appear in the Indian press, particularly in the Bengali language press, based on what is reportedly new evidence gained from the archival material.

2. In view of this, I handed over the enclosed note verbale to Ambassador Kotov today conveying a request that we would appreciate another examination of all materials available on this subject to enable a final determination on whether Netaji entered or stayed in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and in subsequent years. I hope that the official reply, when received in due course from the Russian Foreign Ministry, will finally set at rest speculation about what happened to Netaji. I hope that this reply will be received well before the commencement of Netaji's birth centenary celebrations.

3. This may please be brought to the attention of Foreign Secretary and EAM.

Yours sincerely,


(R. Sen)

Shri R.L. Narayan,
Joint Secretary(EE)
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.



सत्यमेव जयते

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को
EMBASSY OF INDIA,
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Poly
MOSCOW

Tel. No. 917-0820
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU
Tele Fax-9752337

No SA/83/95

July 27, 1995

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and has the honour to refer to correspondence resting with their Note Verbale No. 2/YuA of 8 January, 1992, regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Enclosed is a booklet which contends that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may have come to the former Soviet Union in 1945. There has been further speculation in this context reportedly on the basis of archival materials. In view of this, it would be highly appreciated if all materials available on the subject could be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently.

The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation the assurances of its highest consideration.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Federation
(South Asia Department)
Moscow



FAX

भारत नव राजदूतावास, टोकियो
Embassy of India,
2-11, Kudan-Minami 2-chome,
Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102
Telex: 332488GINDIM J
Phone: 03(3262)2331
Fax: 03(3262)4866
October 4, 1995

From: Indembassy Tokyo
To: Foreign New Delhi

5 OCT 1995

Shri Yogeshwar Varma, Director (JK) from Krishan Kumar,
FS (P&I)

Rptd: Shri G. Mukhopadhaya, Director (XP)

Shri D.B. Venkatesh Varma, Addl. PS to EAM

Following is free translation of an article which
appeared in the "Mainichi Shimbun" of September 28, 1995:

Mainichi Shimbun
28.9.1995

TELEGRAPH SECTION

Received at.....

SENT AT.....

Sig. of Operator.....

I. Return of the remains may realise 50 years after death. Prime Minister says, "If it is not used politically", there is a chance of reviewing the role of one more Hero Chandra Bose in India.

Tragic hero of India's independence movement, Subhash Chandra Bose in cooperation with Japanese army tried to free India through armed might, but half century has passed since his aircraft was destroyed in an accident in Taiwan. In contrast to the glory of leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, the remains of Bose are enshrined in Reisoji Temple (in Tokyo), not getting permission to return to India. But in the 50th year after his death, this year an editorial appeared in a newspaper, saying role of Bose is likely to be reviewed in the capital New Delhi Kojima from Calcutta.

Netaji Research and Survey Centre is in Calcutta, the centre of Bengal area. That is the house where Bose was born and now is the memorial. Netaji is the name given to Bose by the Bengalis with respect and love, meaning "Great Leader". But inside the Research Centre everything is old and the floor squeaks. The display consists of only photographs of Bose along with Hitler and Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, the place is barely maintained through the charity from the family.

Nephew of Bose, Mr. Shishir Bose (75), the Director, says, "I have requested the Government of India many times for the return of the remains. Half a century has passed and still the Government does not approve of the return". Mr. Shishir pointed out that the Government is denying return of the remains because of Bose's popularity. He is the hero of Bengal, same as the poet Tagore, even now. Bose enjoys strong popularity among

the Bengalis. Government of India is worried about the eruption of Bengali nationalism by the return of the remains accompanied by the dissatisfaction regarding the delay in economic development of the region.

In Bengal, there is even a 'Bose Legend' that he is still alive. Even if he was alive, he would be 98, even now there are letters 'confirming his existence', coming to the Research Centre.

One more reason which is making the return difficult is that the Government is afraid that this will be politically exploited. Mr. Shishir emphasised, "It is not an issue simply of the remains. But it will indicate how the central government assesses Bose's independence movement. Gandhi's non-violence movement and Bose's armed fight are two sides of the same coin. He should be received in the same manner as a leader who has contributed to nation-building".

India got its independence because of the non-violence policy of Gandhi and Nehru. Even after independence, successive Prime Ministers toed the same line as the two in leading India. Thus, it is difficult for the Government to reject Gandhi's policies and receive Bose in honour, who rushed for cooperation to Japanese army.

However, Prime Minister Rao has attended an inauguration ceremony of the Bose Memorial in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and has said, "I am not against the return as long as it is not going to be politically exploited". Mr. Shishir expressed his hope saying, "This is the sign of change. January 1997 is the 100th birth anniversary and we wish to get his remains by then."

II. Renkoji, Tokyo, where the remains are enshrined:

Remains of Bose are still kept in the main hall of the temple Renkoji in Tokyo.

The Head Priest Koshi Mochizuki said that the remains were brought to this temple by the cadets of Indian National Army who were studying in Japan. As Japan was under the occupation forces, it was difficult to find a temple which would accept the remains of Bose, who was in alliance with the former Japanese army, but Mr. Mochizuki's father, who was the then late Head Priest, accepted the request saying, "the soul is not bound by borders".

Since then, every year on 18th August on the death anniversary, representatives from the Embassy of India, acquaintances of Bose, altogether about 50 people, gather for the memorial service. Mr. Mochizuki said, "Successive Prime Ministers - Prime Minister Nehru, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi - have come to pay their respects but return of the remains did not materialise. The promise was for keeping it for a short period but 50 years have passed and now we feel (he) is one of our family members. There may be some political problems but we wish for the return, as he was the hero who had prayed for India's

independence.

III. Once again treading the path of the army next month are those who had links with former National Army:

The former Indian National Army members and historians are planning to go by the same route as followed by Bose, starting from Singapore, which had the provisional government of free India, to Imphal in India.

The group will go by car from Singapore via Thailand, Yangon - Myanmar to Imphal in Manipur state of India crossing Indian border at Arakan mountains. It is a 7,000 km route and the core of the National Army was the Indians staying in Burma and South East Asia. On their way, there are many Indians who are still living in this area and who are the members of National Army.

IV. Subhash Chandra Bose:

Born in 1897, in a noblest of noble family, Bose graduated from the Cambridge University of England. He was promised a bright future under the colonial rule of the British but he joined the 'National Congress' - which was the central organisation of India's independence movement - advocated by Gandhi.

Due to his military leanings, he was not popular with the British authorities. He was arrested by the British authorities at the outbreak of the II World War but he escaped to Berlin via Central Asia. Further, he reached Tokyo by a U-Boat and I-Submarine and formed a tentative free India Government in October 1943 under the protection of Japanese Government. In January 1944, the Indian National Army participated in an attack on Imphal by the Japanese army aiming to advance into India.

This operation was a failure with 70,000 Japanese soldiers and 7,000 National Army soldiers dying in an attack on British Indian Army. On 18 August, just after the end of the war, while returning to Tokyo, the Japanese army aircraft in which he was travelling crashed in Taipei and he died (in that crash).


(Krishan Kumar)
First Secretary (P&I)



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APR EAM

FAX

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13/10

भारत का राजदूत, टोकियो

Embassy of India,
3-11, Kudan-Minami 2-chome,
Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102
Telex: 224886INDEMB J
Phone: 03(3262)2351

October 4, 1995

From: Indembassy Tokyo
To: Foreign New Delhi

5 OCT 1995

Shri Yogeshwar Varma, Director (JK), from Krishan Kumar,
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230

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21/3

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4840/JS(EA)/95

12/12

MOST URGENT

Ministry of Home Affairs
Freedom Fighters' Division

.....

Subject: - Representation presented to Prime Minister by
All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation, New
Delhi.

.....

Shri Sheel Bhadhra Yajee, ex-M.P. in his letter dated 5.9.95 addressed to P.M. (copy enclosed) has proposed that on the occasion of Birth Centenary of Netaji next year, the Ashes of Netaji should be brought to India from Tokyo with full State Honour.

2. Ministry of External Affairs are requested to furnish their comments in the matter urgently. Minister of State for Home Affairs needs this information for discussion with Hon'ble Prime Minister.

(B.M.S.NEGI)
DIRECTOR (FF)
Tel. No. 468105

Shri A.K. Kanta, Director,
M/o External Affairs,
East Asia Division,
South Block,
New Delhi.

M.H.A. U.C.No.4/14/95FF(P) dated 10-10-95

For you. 10/10

Dir (JK) 12/10

~~Dir (JK)~~

Js(EA)

H. Dissanayake

Dir (JK)

PA ~~Dir~~

Discussed by a reply
has been sent

VS (JK)

18/10

233
भाइतीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी संगठन
7, बल्लभ मल्ल रोड, नई दिल्ली-110001

Freedom Fighters' Organisation

7, JANAK MANIAR ROAD, NEW DELHI-110001

Sh. Sheel Bhadra Yajee, *Ex. M. P.*
Working President

Capt. S. S. Yadava I.N.A.
General Secretary

D.O.

3rd September, 1995

My dear Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,

Jai Hind. I am writing this that the Ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose have been maintained with great sanctity by the Priest of RENKO JI Temple, Tokyo (Japan) for the last 50 years.

2. The birth centenary of Netaji (23.01.1996 to 23.01.1997) is the appropriate time to bring the Ashes to India with full State Honours. It will not only enhance the prestige of Government of India internationally but will also imbibe the spirit of Unity, Sacrifice, Secularism; and Patriotism among the youth of India.

3. Will you kindly give us time and date that may suit your convenience to discuss the issue in detail. I wish to call on you accompanied by Ch. Ranbir Singh, ex-M.P. and Captain S.S. Yadava, INA, Gen. Secretary, All India I.N.A. Committee.

With best wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,

(SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE)

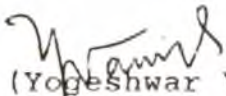
Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

(224) (46)
Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Sub : Representation presented to Prime Minister by All
India Freedom Fighters' Organisation, New Delhi


Reference is invited to U.O. No. 4/14/95-FF(P) dated 10.10.95 addressed to Shri A.K. Kantha, Director, on the above subject. The undersigned is directed to convey that the matter pertaining to the above subject is already under consultations between Foreign Secretary and Home Secretary and information sought from this Ministry would be available in the records in MHA.

This issues with the approval of JS (EA).


(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (JK)

Shri B.M.S. Negi
Director (FF)
Freedom Fighters' Division
Ministry of Home Affairs
Lok Nayak Bhavan, New Delhi

MEA U.O. No. 2/551/12/93-JP dated 18.10.95



L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

FAX. NO. — 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra, Imphal
0091—385—222936
0091—385—220471

Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA,

BY SPEED POST

Imphal 13 Sept 1995.

Dear Shri Pranab Mukherjee,

This will find you in the best of health and spirit. Some of my friends of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Academy of Japan informed me by Fax that you have visited Renkoji Temple and given a prayer at the remains of Netaji. I have been trying my level best to prove on the death of Netaji at the Plane crash at Taiphei on 18 August 1945 on the personal request of Late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and also letter No. I665-EAM/84 dated 21 June 1984 of Shri P.V. Narashimha Rao. (Xerox copy of it is enclosed herewith for easy reference).

I have done extensive research in Japan, London and Germany. I have collected several documents, Newspaper cutting of 19 August 1945 declaring the death of Netaji. I have also collected rare Photographs such as landing of Netaji by Submarine at SABAN Port of Japan on 18 May 1943, Netaji with Jap Army etc. Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose, Calcutta and Shri Ardhendu Bose, Bombay wrote me that they have no objection in bringing the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose from Rengkoji Temple to India. But, there is an objection in some quarters in bringing the ashes to India, I took special care of it.

Shri Chitta Basu MP, General Secretary, Forward Bloc came twice to me at Imphal and requested me to prove the death of Netaji at Taiphei.

P.T.O.

L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax. No.— 0091—385—225544, Prajatantra Imphal

0091—385—222936

0091—385—220471

Phone

{ 220147 [o]
221538 [o]
220471 [R]

236
Tele — PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS
IMPHAL, MANIPUR, INDIA.

(2)

My German friend Mr. Elke Wijithapale, Department of country works, Bonn den who has been helping in my research wrote me that USSR War documents of South East Asia (including the plane crash of Netaji) will be available at the following address:-

USSR, RSFSR

Maly Karetny I2

IO3I5I Moscow

Memorial

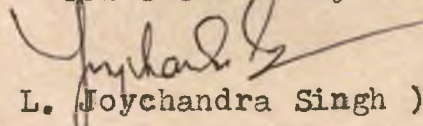
Phone 299II80

I shall be very grateful, if you kindly consider to ask Embassy of India, Moscow to go to the Memorial and find out record of the Plane Crash and death of Netaji on 18 August 1945 or kindly consider to send me to Moscow for about 5/6 days there.

An early reply will be highly appreciated.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely


(L. Joychandra Singh)

Shri Pranab Mukherjee
Minister of External Affairs,
Government of India
New Delhi.



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विदेश मंत्री

भारत

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

No. 1665-EAM/84

New Delhi
June 21, 1984

Dear Shri Joychandra Singh,

Please refer to your letter of 23rd May 1984, addressed to the Prime Minister, suggesting that the remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose should be brought to India from the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo where they are at present.

As your letter itself suggests, you are aware of the controversy surrounding this question, including the serious reservations expressed by some members of Netaji's family. This controversy has figured in our media from time to time and also in the Parliament.

I need hardly state that we all hold Netaji in very high esteem. But, at the same time we would be reluctant to do anything which might only add to the controversy surrounding Netaji's remains. Your letter gives the impression of possible rethinking on the part of some members of the Netaji family on this question. It would be better if those members of the Netaji family who have been opposed to this idea in the past were to formally communicate their views to us, particularly if they think differently now.

I fully agree with you that there should be a national consensus on this question before the Government takes a formal decision so that a controversy in any form is avoided at a later stage. Any efforts on your part towards this end would be most welcome.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao

Shri L. Joychandra Singh
Prajatantra Buildings
Imphal
(Manipur)

238

49



September 22nd 1995

Mr Ashis Ray
Cable News International Inc.
New Delhi ,
India.

The Forensic Science Service
Priory House
Gooch Street North
Birmingham B5 6QQ
Telephone: 021 666 6606
Facsimile: 021 622 2051

SERVICE DEVELOPMENT

Dear Mr Ray

Further to our telephone conversations regarding the analysis of the putative remains of Subhas Chandra Bose, I am able to confirm that a blood sample from either a nephew or neice from his sister's side of the family would be a suitable control for DNA analysis purposes. Of the remains likely to be available for testing, the gold-plated tooth, rather than the cremated bone fragments, is more likely to yield material of sufficient quality for DNA analysis.

The test which is most likely to work on old or degraded human remains is mitochondrial DNA analysis. Mitochondrial DNA is inherited only from the mother, hence individuals who are linked by an unbroken maternal line are expected to have identical mitochondrial DNA. As you may be aware, our laboratory was responsible for successfully identifying the remains of Tsar Nicholas II and his family by comparing DNA extracted from fragments of bones buried for 75 years with control blood samples from distant maternal relatives of the Russian royal family.

The Forensic Science Service now carries out mitochondrial DNA analysis on a routine basis with each case charged at a rate of £100 per hour. Each case is different but we estimate that the total cost of analysing the tooth and two control blood samples would be between £5000 and £10000, with the work taking approximately four months to perform. If you wish to progress this issue, I would be delighted to forward our Terms of Business and any further details you may require.

Yours sincerely,

K. Sullivan

Dr K. Sullivan

DIRECTOR GENERAL DR JANET THOMPSON

HEADQUARTERS: THORNTREE HOUSE DEAN RYLE STREET LONDON SW1P 2AN
LABORATORIES: ALDERMASTON BIRMINGHAM CHESTER CHORLEY MERTON WIMBORNE

*Love to see due to my
presence "Bongali" in India
would be of interest to
you as EA Div has
the main file on
Pulma & Netaji's
ashes*

*Shm
14/12*

*JS (EA)
16/12
Dr (C) [signature]*



American Registry of Pathology

ARMED FORCES INSTITUTE OF PATHOLOGY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20306-6000

239



22 September 1995

DoD DNA Registry
Armed Forces DNA
Identification Laboratory
1413 Research Boulevard
Rockville, MD 20850-5000

Mr. Ashis Ray
Cable News International, Inc.
F-162, Malcha Marg, Chanakyapuri
New Delhi - 110 021
INDIA

Dear Mr. Ray:

Thank you for your recent inquiry regarding DNA testing of cremains presumed to be those of Subhas Chandra Bose. Technically speaking, it is possible to obtain a DNA profile from cremated remains. Given the severity of the conditions under which the cremains were exposed, and the fact that only distant maternal relatives are available for analysis, the testing would be limited to the analysis of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) using the polymerase chain reaction (PCR). Although mtDNA is a very informative system, it may not provide proof beyond all doubt. In the case of Tsar Nicholas II, the mtDNA profile provided a very rare genetic anomaly which the Tsar shared with his brother, Georgij Romanov. Therefore, the identification of the Tsar could be proven beyond a reasonable doubt. In the case of Subhas Chandra Bose, there is no assurance I can give that the mtDNA test results would provide identification beyond all doubt, or even a reasonable doubt.

If you would like to request mtDNA testing in this case, please send the request to Dr. Victor W. Weedn, Chief Deputy Medical Examiner, DoD DNA Registry. In your request please state the facts of the case, whether any other testing has been performed or requested in the past, and whether the case is in litigation or has a high likelihood of ending up in litigation.

I hope this information has been of help to you. Please feel free to contact me in the future if you have any additional questions.

Sincerely,

Mitchell M. Holland, Ph.D.

Branch Chief, AFDIL

Walter Reed Campus:

Administration 202-576-2980/4558 : FAX 202-576-4567
Payroll 202-576-2043 : FAX 202-576-4567
Alumni 202-576-4549 : FAX 202-576-0941
Bookstore 202-576-2940 : FAX 202-576-0941
Consults 202-576-4566 : FAX 202-576-4567
Histo Control Slides 202-576-0193 : FAX 202-576-4567

Forest Glen Campus:

Administration 301-427-6628 : FAX 301-427-6608
Payroll: 202-576-2043 : FAX 301-427-6608
Accounting 301-427-6603 : FAX 301-427-6608
Courses 301-427-5231
Marketing 301-427-6630

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13/12

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13/12

3836/EA/95
18/12

3609/EA/95
14/12



प्रधान मंत्री
PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
December 7, 1995

Dear Shri Gujral,

Thank you for your letter of November 28, 1995
enclosing a copy of the letter by Dr. K. Sullivan to
Shri Ashish Ray of CNN.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri I.K. Gujral, MP
4 AB, Purana Qilla Road
New Delhi - 110 001

No. 805/11/C/13/95-Pol

dated: 12.12.1995

Copy with a copy of letter under reply forwarded
to:-

1. Home Secretary.
2. Secretary, Culture.
3. Dir (FSO), MEA.

Pankaj Saran
(Pankaj Saran)
Deputy Secretary

35
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Dir (JS)

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US/JS
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80/JS
Netaji
18/12/95
Ch P.



241

I K Gujral
Member Parliament
(Rajya Sabha)

28th November 1995

My dear *Shri Narasimha Rao Jee,*

Sub : Netaji Subhas's ashes

Mr. Ashish Ray of the CNN met me recently and handed over a copy of the letter enclosed. This provides helpful way out of the controversy.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

I. K. Gujral
(I. K. GUJRAL)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
7, Race Course Road,
NEW DELHI 110011.

/ Encl.
i

212



September 22nd 1995

Mr Ashis Ray
Cable News International Inc.
New Delhi ,
India.

The Forensic Science Service
Priory House
Gooch Street North
Birmingham B5 6QQ
Telephone: 021 666 6606
Facsimile: 021 622 2051

SERVICE DEVELOPMENT

Dear Mr Ray

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Yours sincerely,

K. Sullivan

Dr K. Sullivan

DIRECTOR GENERAL DR JANET THOMSON

HEADQUARTERS: PRIORY HOUSE, DEAN RYLE STREET, LONDON SW1P 2AW
LABORATORIES: ALDERMASTON, BIRMINGHAM, CHESTER, CHORLEY, HUNTINGDON, WETHERBY

The Hindustan Times

27.10.95

(243)

Govt shifts stand on Netaji's ashes

By M. K. Tikku

NEW DELHI, Oct. 26

Dr Anita Pfaff, daughter of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, has agreed to serve as a member of a National Memorial Committee to be constituted shortly with Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao as its chairman.

The Committee will take charge of all the activities connected with the birth centenary celebrations of Netaji which begin next January.

Last Sunday afternoon, External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee drove to Augsburg, about 60 kms from Munich in southern Germany, to meet Mrs Anita Pfaff, who teaches economics at the local university. Her husband, Dr Martin Pfaff, also an economics professor is a Social Democrat member of the German Parliament. Mr Mukherjee, who spent a whole evening at the Pfaffs home was accompanied by Indian ambassador S. K. Lamba and an aide of the Minister.

Mr Mukherjee informed her that during the centenary year, the Government proposed to bring back Netaji's ashes from Japan and have these installed at a suitable memorial with due ceremony and honour. This marks a noticeable shift in the Government's position which had earlier informed the Parliament that the ashes, which have been lying at the Renokoji temple in Japan,

would be brought to India only after "a national consensus" was evolved resolving the controversy surrounding the circumstances of his mysterious death or disappearance, half a century ago.

The shift in the Government's position and its apparent keenness to cap the controversy, as it were, seems to have been triggered by a recent report suggesting that three Calcutta-based scholars had in fact come across documents in the Russian archives indicating that Netaji had been staying in the Soviet Union sometime after his supposed death in the 1945 air crash.

The three scholars — Dr Hari Vasudevan, Dr Sobhan Lal Dutta Gupta and Dr Purabi Roy — who had visited Moscow on behalf of the Asiatic Society, had access to a member of archival documents, including some KGB files, in the Russian capital.

In the course of the Sunday evening meeting in Augsburg, Mr Mukherjee had shown some papers

to Mrs Pfaff that contained a response from the Russian Government to a query on the subject made by New Delhi earlier. In its reply, the Russian Government had stated that though the former Soviet regime had had some contacts with Netaji during the war, there had been none after the war was over.

Mr Mukherjee argued that this was conclusive proof that stories speaking of Netaji's life (and death) in the Soviet Union were without basis. He assured his host that his senior colleagues in the Government as well as himself had great admiration for Netaji and they would ensure that his birth centenary year was observed in a befitting manner.

Mr Mukherjee stressed that it would be in the fitness of things that she should attend the first meeting of the National Memorial Committee. Mrs Pfaff indicated that she could be free from her university duties only during the Christmas break, and so could come to India only towards the end of December.

It was agreed the inaugural meeting of the Committee would be convened around that time.

Though the Minister tied it up rather neatly at the Augsburg end during the weekend visit, some members of the Bose family in India do not even appear half as enthusiastic about the development. According to their understanding, the three Calcutta academics have a lot more up their sleeves based on the KGB documents they got to see in Moscow and the rather bland denial of the Russian Government of 1992 vintage does not clear the picture.

They suspect that after the cavalier treatment meted out to Netaji all these years, the ruling party's new-found admiration for him may just be used to extract political mileage during an election year. They strongly feel that the least that could be done is to ask the Russian Government for a fresh response in the light of the three scholars' findings.

Dir (Fk)

Submitted for information please,

JS(EA) has seen

FS

Yanna

Dir (Su)

27-10-95

21/11/95

SP

507/11/95

(57) (244)
D. N. Sinha

President:

National Council of OISCA in India
All India Qaumi Ekta Committee

Vice-President:

OISCA International, Tokyo
All India Freedom Fighters Organisation

Fax 011-3343421 Telex 31-63045
Off 3732730
Tel. 3733175
Res 6910923

5/125, Jeevan Tara Building,
Parliament Street,
New Delhi - 110 001

October 28, 1995

Dear Hon'ble Sri Mukherjee,

We express our grateful thanks for persuading our Prime Minister, whom we had several times approached, to bring the sacred ashes of Netaji from Ranokaji Temple in Tokyo where I recently visited.

For info. pl. 1.11
JS(EA)
This would not only be highly appreciated by the people of India but they would go a step forward to support the Congress Party as the Prime Minister after all has shown respect to Netaji. This should give a new life to Congress in the North extending from Manipur, West Bengal to Kashmir.

My organisation OISCA International, Tokyo, whom you extended your support in the NGO UN Committee, shall extend all Co-operation to you as it was prepared to assist us to bring the sacred ashes if the Government of India was reluctant to bring them.

USF (Tn)
Please convey our gratitudes on behalf of all the Freedom Fighters particularly of Sri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, to our Prime Minister for respecting the sacred ashes of Netaji.

We now await your direction as to how to proceed in the matter as the ashes must be brought in time for Centenary and taken round the Country.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

D.N. Sinha
D.N. SINHA

Hon'ble Sri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee,
Foreign Minister of India,
NEW DELHI.

Netaji file

4/6/1995

OK P

The Pioneer
28. x. '93

FB's stand on Netaji 'ashes' flayed

State Correspondent

Calcutta

FORWARD BLOC leader Kalimuddin Shams' threat of a "blood-bath" in case the Centre persists with its efforts to bring Netaji's "ashes" from the Renkoji temple in Japan, has been widely condemned in local political circles.

Though Netaji's nephew, Dr Sisir Bose, refused to comment, the general impression was that Mr Shams' ultimatum offered convincing evidence that the Bloc's political interests lay in keeping the Netaji's death issue alive for as long as possible.

A minister in the Left Front Cabinet, Mr Shams has described the attempt to bring the "ashes" as a conspiracy by the Centre to

bury the continuing mystery surrounding Netaji's death in the air-crash at Taihoku in 1944.

This was after Union External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee had airdashed from New York to Germany to seek the concurrence of Netaji's wife, Ms Anita Basu, in the matter.

Whereas both Ms Basu and the Japanese authorities were reportedly keen that the "ashes" be brought to India, the Bloc's leaders felt this would be tantamount to hurting the sentiments of the hordes of Netaji's admirers who were certain that the death of the INA commander-in-chief had never been established beyond doubt.

Rajya Sabha MP Chitto Basu had even met Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao to raise his par-

ty's objections to, the move to bring the ashes.

State Forward Bloc secretary told *The Pioneer* that even the late Prime Minister Morarji Desai had informed Parliament in 1978 that fresh evidence unearthed after the findings of the Shah Nawaz Khan and Khosla committees made it impossible to arrive at any firm conclusions regarding Netaji's death.

Mr Ghosh said there was enough documentary evidence to support the view that he was seen in Russia a year after the air-crash, and that Nehru had even sent an emissary to meet him.

All these developments had been recorded in documents, and were now lying in the archives of KGB, the Russian intelligence agency.

Hopes had been raised after the Asiatic Society's recent pact with the Oriental University in Moscow on the exchange of historical documents.

It was thought that scholars would be allowed to search for these papers in the archives to help establish the truth. But the Centre had influenced the Russian authorities not to allow any visiting Indian scholars to pursue any papers on Netaji.

In such a situation, Mr Ghosh observed, the plan to bring the so called ashes was ridiculous and ill-conceived. "No one knows whose ashes they are."

He added: "And nothing would be more insulting to Netaji's memory than to foist them on the country without a thorough probe."

Dr (TK)

Thanks

(S. P. Rao)

Yr
31/10

21/11/95

sh P

The Statesman 246
28-x-95

Govt to authentic

SUBRATA SEN

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Oct. 27. — The Union Government has decided to opt for DNA testing of Netaji's "ashes" kept in Tokyo before taking a decision to bring it back to India with full honours during Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's birth centenary next year.

The controversy that shrouds Netaji's death has necessitated that the Union Government should first go for a scientific test to prove that the ashes kept at Renkoji temple in Tokyo are those of Netaji. The Government of Japan has agreed to cooperate with India in this respect and has informed that a tooth of Netaji is preserved with the ashes, which can be used for the requisite DNA tests.

According to sources in the Ministry of External Affairs, to ascertain whether the ashes kept in Tokyo are those of Netaji, a committee will be formed com-

prising members from the CBI, DNA testing laboratory of Hyderabad, the Government of Japan and DNA experts from the USA and U.K. Members of Netaji's family will also be included in the committee to avoid any further controversy on the subject. Two renowned DNA experts — Dr Michelle Holland of the USA and Dr Kevin Salevan of the U.K. — had already been consulted and both of them have said that it would be possible to verify the authenticity of the ashes from the tooth.

Incidentally, the remains of Czar Nicholas II, who died in 1917, was verified recently from the remains of bones with DNA samples matched with the Duke of Edinburgh, who is a direct descendant from the mother's side. The Ministry of External Affairs, going by the DNA test of the last Czar, has asked one nephew of Netaji from the mother's side to cooperate in the

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■ METRO CHANNEL
0700 Metro Morning
0900 Top Jobs
0930 Few Rupees More
1000 M.T.V.
1200 Home Shopping (Single
Metro Telecast)
1400 Feature Film In Hindi:
"Amrit", Featuring Rajesh
Khanna, Smita Patil, Sha-
fi Inamdar, Satish Shah
1425 News in Urdu
1435 Feature Film In Hindi
Contd

1700 Phulwari Bachchon Ki
1730 M.T.V.
1900 News Headlines
1902 Hello Bombay
1925 Nazaare
1930 Kismet - Serial
2000 News Headlines
2002 Kabhi Yeh Kabhi Woh
2030 Devta - Serial
2100 News Headlines
2102 Donchey Log Serial
2130 Aarsi Social Watch
2200 Single Metro
2210 Newstrack
2235 Feature Film In English
"Convoy" Featuring John
Cleese
2300 News Headlines
2302 Feature Film Contd Fol-
lowed By MTV

doordarshan
movie club

0800 Feature Film In English
"Sleeping Beauty"
1000 Feature Film In Hindi
"Sangeet Samrat
Tansen
1200 Feature Film In Hindi

WHEN several comp and personal visits to MTNL office do not yield result, what option does a scriber have, asked Dr A.C. of D II/59, Andrews Ganj, complained that his p (6442394) had been wo intermittently since Septe before it finally stopped wo a fortnight ago.

Colonel (Retd.) V.P. Ra of EA/2, Model Town-I, plained that he had not rec telephone bills for the beginning October and rep efforts to contact the authc had come to a nought as n picked up the phones.

The phone (7428588) stalled at Bimbrawh Engine Works, A-103/1, Wazirpu dustrial Area, has been o order for the past months.

The phone (2928198) of Madan Lal, 22-D, Bur Road, has been out of ord the past month.

Mr B.N. Datta of Madhuvan, complained th phone (2241696) has bee of order for the past mont

The phone (7125776) of Ishwar Singh of H-205, a Vihar, has been out of ord the past fortnight.

Dr (J4)
May pl. see
31.10
JS (EA)
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US (for)
2/11/95
sk.p.

The Times of India

11/11/95

247

Exhuming Netaji

It was reassuring to hear from the external affairs minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, that the government will not move to bring to India the ashes in the Rinkoji temple in Tokyo, believed to be Netaji's, without a national consensus on the subject. Admittedly, the process of reaching a consensus cannot be easy. Several theories regarding Netaji's disappearance have been in circulation and sentiments on the subject are strong. Both the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee (1956) and the Khosla Commission (1970) had concluded that Netaji had died in the Taihoku air crash in August 1945. However, in 1978, the then Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, told Parliament that contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses and documents subsequently available had cast "reasonable doubts" on the findings. Netaji's nephew, Mr Suresh Chandra Bose, never accepted the air crash theory. The Forward Bloc, the party founded by Netaji, still contends that he had gone to Manchuria after Japan's surrender to seek Soviet help and disappeared thereafter. Doubts have been reinforced by reports that a three-member team of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, during a recent visit to Moscow, discovered "new facts" on Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union after World War II. According to material available to the team, as late as September 1946 Netaji was trying to contact Forward Bloc leaders from abroad.

The information available so far is scrappy but happily for Netaji-watchers, archival material in Moscow has been thrown open to research scholars. From all indications, there is much that is available there which could be useful. The Union government, for its part, should take up the matter with Moscow and send an official team to go into all available records to remove doubts as far as practicable. Despite the setting up of two inquiry commissions, an impression has lingered in the public mind that not enough has been done to find the truth regarding Netaji's disappearance. This, in turn, has spawned wild theories over the decades about those in power in Delhi being allergic to Netaji. An ill-advised move to confer the Bharat Ratna posthumously on Netaji further served to whet such feelings, as it was seen as an affront rather than as an honour. It is not necessary to rush in the ashes from Rinkoji simply because Netaji's birth centenary is due next year. It would be more relevant to delve into facts and and try and ameliorate public misgivings about the issue. The government should follow up the clues available from Moscow and place them before former INA officials, historians and scholars for proper evaluation. People must be convinced that sincere efforts are being made to ascertain the truth, if the centenary celebrations are to be made truly meaningful.

2/11/85

Shir P



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for info - 1/1

6.11

JS(EA)

24/11/11

Admission

सत्यमेव जयते

Yr 8/11

With the Compliments
of the

Embassy of India, Tokyo

(KRISHAN KUMAR)

(KRISHAN KUMAR)

प्रथम सचिव

First Secretary

भारत का राजदूतावास

Embassy of India

टोकियो

TOKYO

Netaji box

SWP

EMBASSY OF INDIA

2-11 Kudan-minami 2-Chome

Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102

Telephone No,

(03)-3262-2391-7

(seven lines)

USP
for info 9/11

52 249
Yomiuri Shinbun October 24, 1995

NEW WAVE, S.CHANDRA BOSE,SUPREME COMMANDER OF INA

(By Hayashi from New Delhi)

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the death of Subhas Chandra Bose who led India's freedom struggle against the U.K.in alliance with the Japanese army during W.W.II as a supreme commander of the INA. His bereaved family and former officers of the INA launched a campaign for the return of Bose's ashes from Japan to India. In Japan many people are also wishing to return the ashes to India.

The ashes have been kept at the Renkoji Temple in Suginami, Tokyo. The Japanese army tried to advance into India from Burma in alliance with the INA. But so-called the Imphal Military Operation inflicted a fatal blow to the INA. Bose decided to go to Manchuria aboard a bomber of the Japanese army. He was killed in an air crash over Taipei on August 18, 1945.

His funeral was held at the Renkoji Temple. At a request of a INA's Representative Office in Japan, the temple agreed to keep the ashes for the time being. Since then no Indian government has ever claimed the return of the ashes to India.

People including Mr. Ashish Roy, a New Delhi based journalist and Bose's nephew, former INA's Colonel Gurubakhsh Dhillon, and former Army Captain S. Yadav are lending their voices in aid of a (plan) to return the ashes before 1997 which marks Bose's birth centennial. Mr. Roy and others have asked the Indian Government to make an official request to the temple for the return of the ashes. They also asked the Japanese Government to furnish the materials with regard to the death of Bose.

In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of his death and the centenary birth anniversary of Chandra Bose, Mr. Roy and others are planning to hold various functions. On October 21, as part of the program, they started up a "Freedom India Grand March". "I hope the Indian government and its people will acknowledge that Bose is a hero of the freedom struggle. We will make preparation for a plan to hold a government-sponsored ceremony to receive the ashes of the hero." said Mr. Roy.

Each Indian government was reluctant to handle this delicate issue, which caused great delay in the settlement of the issue. Public opinion and historians' views are

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sharply divided into two over the evaluation of Bose. "Bose was elected president of the Congress which had played a leading role in an independence movement of India. Calling for armed struggle in alliance with Japan and Nazi German, Bose was confronted with Mahatma Gandhi over a policy of none-violence. Bose had left the party. Bose has been regarded as a 'radical dissident' by many historians" said Mr. Bipan Chandra.

Bose is respected as a hero in his native state of West Bengal. Some people who still have an anti-British sentiment are the opinion;- "Thanks to a strong protest movement against British-led INA trial after W.W.II, a speed of India's independence was accelerated."

Bose formed the Forward Bloc after he left the Congress. Many members of the Bloc do not believe Bose's death in air crash as "a fabricated story." Indian government's investigation in 1956 failed to produce objective evidence to show that the ashes were real ashes of Bose. Thus they could hardly accept (Bose's death). Even some of the bereaved family believe that Bose is still alive.

"We can persuade those who are opposing to the return of the ashes. It is a matter of time." said Mr. Roy. "I can not die before the ashes of the hero is returned." said Mr. Yadav who is over 70-year old. However, consensus over the ashes has not built yet even today.

状態となり、終戦を迎えた。ボースはソ連での闘争続行を志し、満州行きを決意。日本軍の爆撃機で移動したが、四五年八月十八日に台北で同機が墜落、祖国独立を見ずに他界した。

蓮光寺はボースの葬儀が行われた所。国民軍日本代表部の求めで遺骨の一時保管に応じたが、歴代インド政府から返還要請がないまま今日に至った。

返還の動きが盛り上がったのは、今年が没後五十年



S.チャンドラ・ボース

遺骨を保管しているのは、東京都杉並区にある蓮光寺の望月康史住職。国民軍は、日本軍がビルマから英領インドへ進攻を図ったインパール作戦参加で壊滅

第2次大戦中、「インド国民軍」(INA)を率いて日本軍と協力、対英独立闘争を続けたスバス・チャンドラ・ボースの没後五十年に当たる今年、「日本に眠る遺骨をインドへ持ち帰ろう」という運動がインドの遺族や国民軍元将校の間に広がっている。遺骨の帰国を願う人は日本にも多く、運動は注目を集めている。(ニューデリー・林路郎)

第二次大戦中の

インド国民軍指導者

「日本に眠る遺骨、祖国へ」

のため、ボースのおいの息子に当たるニューデリー在住の放送記者アシシ・ライ氏や、ケルバクシユ・ディロン元国民軍大佐、S・ヤ



蓮光寺に保管されているボースの遺骨と望月康史住職

「ボースが独立の英雄であることを、政府や国民に認識させたい。遺骨返還を、英雄にふさわしいインドの国家行事とする地ならしをする」(ライ氏)

遺骨が祖国へ戻れなかった背景には、歴史評

樹立されたシンガポールを始点にマレーシア、タイ、ミャンマーを経由し、インド・マニプール州へ至る国民軍の足取りをジーア市で始まった。

遺族、元将校ら返還運動

でたり、そのまゝニューデリーへ入城する「自由インド大遠征」も今月二十二日から四十二日間の日

身地・西ベンガル州では、彼は英雄。反英感情を残す一部国民は「戦後、英政府主導で行われた国民軍裁判に対して起きた大反対運動こそ独立の速度を速めた」と見る。

また、政治的要因として

旧日本軍と協力・対英独立闘争・非暴力、ガンジーと対立・・・

ダブ元大尉らが「生誕百年(九七年)以前の返還」を日指し、動き出した。

ライ氏は「このほど、インド政府に対して「寺に公的な返還要請をしてほしい」と要望。日本政府にも「ボース死のいきさつに関する資料を公開してほしい」と求めた。

ライ氏は没後五十年と生誕百年にちなみ、様々な行事も計画。ボースを首班に「自由インド仮政府」が

遺骨返還を訴えるディロン元大佐(中央)ら推進派の人たち(林路郎撮影)



英雄×異端者 評価二分
歴代政府は二の足

論や歴史家の評価は真つ二つに割れる。ボースは独立時に指導的役割を果たす「国民会議派」総裁まで務めたが、日本、ナチス・ドイツとの連携による武闘路線を提唱し、非暴力路線を貫いたマハトマ・ガンジーと対立して離脱した。ガンジーの功績を正史とみる歴史家の多くは、ボースを急進的異端者(ヒパン・チャンドラ氏)とする。

これに対し、ボースの出身地・西ベンガル州では、彼は英雄。反英感情を残す一部国民は「戦後、英政府主導で行われた国民軍裁判に対して起きた大反対運動こそ独立の速度を速めた」と見る。

また、政治的要因として

は、ボースが会議派離党後に結成した左翼政党フオワード・ブロックの存在がある。同党員は長く「墜落死説はでたらめ」と主張。五六年にやっと始まったインド政府の調査についても、遺骨がボースのものだと客観的に証明し得る材料がなかったため、「納得できない」としてきた。

さらには、遺族の一部にも「ボースは生きていた。遺骨の返還などあり得ない」との意見がある。

返還推進派の方でも、ライ氏は「反対者の説得は時間の問題」と冷静だが、七十歳を超えるヤダブ氏ら高齢者の中には「英雄の帰国を果たしてからでなければ死ねない」とする人もおり、今も遺骨を返す思いは複雑に交錯している。

253 53 5621/JV (EA) 195-5022/ERM/85
28/21 10/11/85 17283/FS/95
20/11

Yomiuri Shinbun October 24, 1995

NEW WAVE, S.CHANDRA BOSE, SUPREME COMMANDER OF INA
(By Hayashi from New Delhi)

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the death of Subhas Chandra Bose who led India's freedom struggle against the U.K. in alliance with the Japanese army during W.W.II as a supreme commander of the INA. His bereaved family and former officers of the INA launched a campaign for the return of Bose's ashes from Japan to India. In Japan many people are also wishing to return the ashes to India.

The ashes have been kept at the Renkoji Temple in Suginami, Tokyo. The Japanese army tried to advance into India from Burma in alliance with the INA. But so-called the Imphal Military Operation inflicted a fatal blow to the INA. Bose decided to go to Manchuria aboard a bomber of the Japanese army. He was killed in an air crash over Taipei on August 18, 1945.

His funeral was held at the Renkoji Temple. At a request of a INA's Representative Office in Japan, the temple agreed to keep the ashes for the time being. Since then no Indian government has ever claimed the return of the ashes to India.

People including Mr. Ashish Roy, a New Delhi based journalist and Bose's nephew, former INA's Colonel Gurubakhsh Dhillon, and former Army Captain S. Yadav are lending their voices in aid of a (plan) to return the ashes before 1997 which marks Bose's birth centennial. Mr. Roy and others have asked the Indian Government to make an official request to the temple for the return of the ashes. They also asked the Japanese Government to furnish the materials with regard to the death of Bose.

In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of his death and the centenary birth anniversary of Chandra Bose, Mr. Roy and others are planning to hold various functions. On October 21, as part of the program, they started up a "Freedom India Grand March". "I hope the Indian government and its people will acknowledge that Bose is a hero of the freedom struggle. We will make preparation for a plan to hold a government-sponsored ceremony to receive the ashes of the hero." said Mr. Roy.

Each Indian government was reluctant to handle this delicate issue, which caused great delay in the settlement of the issue. Public opinion and historians' views are

Netaji
file
3
27/11/95
ShP



सत्यमेव जयते

From my wish to see. Ph

With the Compliments
of the
Embassy of India, Tokyo

(कृष्ण कुमार)

(KRISHAN KUMAR)

प्रथम सचिव

First Secretary

भारत का राजदूतावास

Embassy of India

टोकियो

TOKYO

EMBASSY OF INDIA

2-11 Kudan-minami 2-Chome

Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102

Telephone No,

(03)-3262-2391-7

(seven lines)

23

sharply divided into two over the evaluation of Bose. "Bose was elected president of the Congress which had played a leading role in an independence movement of India. Calling for armed struggle in alliance with Japan and Nazi German, Bose was confronted with Mahatma Gandhi over a policy of none-violence. Bose had left the party. Bose has been regarded as a 'radical dissident' by many historians" said Mr. Bipan Chandra.

Bose is respected as a hero in his native state of West Bengal. Some people who still have an anti-British sentiment are the opinion;- "Thanks to a strong protest movement against British-led INA trial after W.W.II, a speed of India's independence was accelerated."

Bose formed the Forward Bloc after he left the Congress. Many members of the Bloc do not believe Bose's death in air crash as "a fabricated story." Indian government's investigation in 1956 failed to produce objective evidence to show that the ashes were real ashes of Bose. Thus they could hardly accept (Bose's death). Even some of the bereaved family believe that Bose is still alive.

"We can persuade those who are opposing to the return of the ashes. It is a matter of time." said Mr. Roy. "I can not die before the ashes of the hero is returned." said Mr. Yadav who is over 70-year old. However, consensus over the ashes has not built yet even today.

(54)

(255)

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 112

LOK SABHA

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 112

TO BE ANSWERED ON 27TH NOVEMBER 1995

ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

112. SHRI SANAT KUMAR MANDAL:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS *विदेश मंत्री*

be pleased to state:

(a) Whether the Government have decided to bring back ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan so as to install the ashes in a suitable memorial during the centenary celebrations which begin early next year;

(b) If so, the details thereof;

(c) the cautious steps that have been taken to confirm that the ashes kept in Renkoji Temple near Tokyo are his ashes; and

(d) the details of the proposed activities connected with the birth centenary celebrations of Netaji which begin in January, 1996?

ANSWER

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(SHRI R.L. BHATIA)

विदेश राज्य मंत्री

(a) No final view has been taken on this matter till now.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Two Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the Govt. of India and an enquiry by Japanese authorities have concluded that the ashes in Renkoji Temple are those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

(d) A national Committee to celebrate Netaji's birth centenary has been set up. The first meeting of National Committee to commemorate the birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is scheduled to be held under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister on November 30, 1995.

(MC/1257/14/95-JP)

For Netaji file

SLP

25/11/95

लोक सभा

अतारांकित प्रश्न सं. 112

27 नवम्बर, 1995 ----- 6 अगस्त, 1917 शक
को लोकसभा की बैठक में उत्तर दिए जाने के लिए

नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियां

प्रश्न सं. 112

श्री तनत कुमार मंडल

क्या विदेश मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

१क॥ क्या सरकार ने नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियों को जापान से वापस लाने का निर्णय किया है ताकि उनके जन्म शताब्दी समारोह के दौरान जो आगामी वर्ष के प्रारम्भ में शुरू हो रहा है, उनकी अस्थियों को एक उचित स्मारक में स्थापित किया जा सके,

१ख॥ यदि हाँ, तो तत्संबंधी ब्यौरा क्या है;

१ग॥ यह सुनिश्चित करने हेतु क्या कदम उठाए गए हैं कि टोक्यो के निकट "रेकोजी टेम्पल" में रखी अस्थियाँ उनकी ही हैं; और

१घ॥ जनवरी, 1996 में शुरू होने वाले नेताजी के जन्म शताब्दी समारोह से संबंधित प्रस्तावित कार्यक्रमों का ब्यौरा क्या है।

उत्तर

श्री रघुनंदन लाल भाटिया

विदेश राज्य मंत्री

१क॥ इस मामले के संबंध में कोई अन्तिम दृष्टिकोण नहीं अपनाया गया है।

१ख॥ प्रश्न नहीं उठता।

१ग॥ भारत सरकार द्वारा नियुक्त दो जांच आयोगों तथा जापानी प्राधिकारियों द्वारा की गई जांच से यह निष्कर्ष निकला है कि रेकोजी टेम्पल में रखी हुई अस्थियाँ नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की ही हैं।

१घ॥ नेताजी के जन्म शताब्दी समारोह मनाने के लिए एक राष्ट्रीय समिति का गठन किया गया है। नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की जन्म शताब्दी समारोह मनाने से सम्बद्ध राष्ट्रीय समिति की पहली बैठक प्रधान मंत्री की अध्यक्षता में 30 नवम्बर, 1995 को होगी।

RAJYA SABHA

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO.266

TO BE ANSWERED ON 29TH NOVEMBER, 1995

BRINGING BACK NETAJI'S ASHES

266. SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY :

विदेश मंत्री

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any proposal under Government's consideration to bring back to India Netaji's ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple near Tokyo;

(b) if so, whether the consent of Netaji's wife who is residing in Germany, has been taken for the purpose; and

(c) if the answers to Parts 'a' and 'b' above be in the affirmative, what plans are being drawn up to pay a befitting homage to the great Freedom Fighter?

ANSWER

MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE)

विदेश मंत्री

(a) & (b) : No final view has been taken on this matter till now.

(c) A National Committee to celebrate Netaji's birth centenary has been set up. The first meeting of National Committee to commemorate the birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is scheduled to be held under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister on November 30, 1995.

राज्य सभा

अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 266

29 नवम्बर, 1995 ————— 8 अग्राह्यण, 1917 ईश्वर

को राज्य सभा की बैठक में उत्तर दिये जाने के लिए

नेताजी की अस्थियों का वापस लाया जाना

प्रश्न संख्या 266

श्री वी. नारायणसाहू :

क्या विदेश मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

॥क॥ क्या टोक्यो के समीप रैजोजी मंदिर में रखी गयी नेताजी की अस्थियों को भारत में वापस लाने के संबंध में कोई प्रस्ताव सरकार के विचाराधीन है;

॥ख॥ यदि हां, तो क्या जर्मनी में रह रही नेताजी की पत्नी की, इस प्रयोजनार्थ सम्मति ले ली गयी है; और

॥ग॥ यदि उपयुक्त भाग ॥क॥ और ॥ख॥ का उत्तर "हां" में हो, तो इस महान् स्वतंत्रता सेनानी को उपयुक्त श्रद्धांजली देने के लिए क्या - क्या योजना बनायी जा रही है'

उत्तर

श्री शृण्व सुखर्जी

विदेश मंत्री

॥क॥ तथा ॥ख॥ इस मामले के संबंध में अब तक कोई अन्तिम दृष्टिकोण नहीं अपनाया है ।

॥ग॥ नेताजी की 100 जन्म शताब्दी मनाने के लिए एक राष्ट्रीय समिति का गठन किया गया है । नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की जन्म शताब्दी स्मारक राष्ट्रीय समिति की पहली बैठक प्रधान मंत्री की अध्यक्षता में 30 नवम्बर, 1995 को होगी ।

759

55

NOTICE OFFICE
 Dy. No. 003056
 Date

RAJYA SABHA/राज्य सभा
QUESTION FOR ORAL ANSWER
 मौखिक उत्तर के लिए प्रश्न

QUESTION BRANCH
 S.Q. Dy. No. 003037
 Date

20 NOV 1975

Place/स्थान
 Date/दिनांक

FROM/प्रेषक : Shri Pasunpon Tha. Kurittinan

M.P./संसद सदस्य

To/सेवा में,

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL/महासचिव,
 RAJYA SABHA, NEW DELHI/राज्य सभा, नई दिल्ली।

SIR/MADAM, महोदय / महोदया,

Under Rule 39 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, I give notice of the following
 प्रक्रिया तथा कार्य संचालन संबंधी नियमों के नियम, 39 के अंतर्गत, मैं निम्नलिखित प्रश्न की सूचना देता हूँ।
 Question for oral answer on/जिसका मौखिक उत्तर को दिया जाये।

Yours (faithfully/भवदीय,

Member/सदस्य

Division No./विभाजन सं० ... 82 ...

Order of preference/प्राथमिकता क्रम

*Will the Minister of External Affairs..... be pleased to state :

*क्या मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(a)/(क) Whether it is a fact that during his visit to foreign countries
 he visited inter-alia Germany especially to discuss the matter
 with the widow of late Netaji for bringing the ashes of Netaji
 to country for construction of a Memorial ;

(b) * if so, details of the discussion he had with the widow; and

(c) Government reaction thereof ?

Netaji's file
 on transferred to
 JS (EW)

810/17730

260

Fr. JS(EA)
22/11

NOTICE OFFICE
Dy. No.00270
Date

RAJYA SABHA/राज्य सभा
QUESTION FOR ORAL ANSWER
मौखिक उत्तर के लिए प्रश्न

QUESTION BRANCH
S.Q. Dy. No.002716
Date

NOV 1995

Place/स्थान नई दिल्ली
Date/दिनांक 12/11/95

FROM/प्रेषक : श्री० विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा M.P./संसद सदस्य

To/सेवा में,
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL/महासचिव,
RAJYA SABHA, NEW DELHI/राज्य सभा, नई दिल्ली।

SIR/MADAM, महोदय / महोदया,

Under Rule 39 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, I give notice of the following प्रक्रिया तथा कार्य संचालन संबंधी नियमों के नियम, 39 के अंतर्गत, मैं निम्नलिखित प्रश्न की सूचना देता हूँ।
Question for oral answer on/जिसका मौखिक उत्तर6-12-1995..... को दिया जाये।

Yours faithfully/भवदीय,
विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा
Member/सदस्य

Division No./विभाजन सं० ३०

Order of preference/प्राथमिकता क्रम
*Will the Minister of be pleased to state :
*क्या मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(ii)/(क) नेता जो सुमाष बन्दर बस को अस्थिरों को जापान से भारत लाने की सरकार को कोई पंशा है।

ख, क्या इन अस्थिरों को प्रामाणिकता के संबंध में कोई विवाद है।

ग, अस्थिरों की प्रामाणिकता जानने के लिए सरकार क्या पग उठा रही है।

घ, क्या इस संबंध में सरकार इस सरकार से सहयोग मिलेगी।

By spl. Messenger.

(26)

(56)

Most Immediate

C/125/20/95-JP
Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Enclosed is a Parliament Question No. 112 on Netaji. This Ministry would be grateful if draft reply and supplementary note pertaining to Para (d) on proposed Centenary Celebration activities of Netaji are communicated immediately preferably by forenoon of 23rd November.

Received at 5.20 pm.
today
22/11/95

(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (JK)
22.11.95

Shri Raj Kishore
Under Secretary (Centenary & Memorial)
Deptt. of Culture
Room No. 334, C Wing,
Shastri Bhavan Annexe, New Delhi

The reply received is placed below
for information please.

YV 22/11

JS(EA) file

on file p. 1
22/11/95

YV 22/11

(26) (57)

TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE GAZETTE OF INDIA EXTRAORDINARY

PART -1 SECTION-1

F.No.15-3/95-C&M
Government of India
Ministry of Human Resource Development
Department of Culture

New Delhi, the 9th Nov., 95

R E S O L U T I O N

With a view to celebrate the birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in a bifitting manner, a National Committee has been constituted by the Government of India as under:-

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Prime Minister | -Chairman |
| 2. Minister of Human Resource Development | -Working
Chairman |
| 3. Shri Chandra Shekhar, Former Prime Minister | -Member |
| 4. Shri V.P. Singh, Former Prime Minister | -Member |
| 5. Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Minister of External Affairs | -Member |
| 6. Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister | -Member |
| 7. Shri P.A. Sangma, Minister of I&B | -Member |
| 8. Shri G.VenkatSwamy, Minister of Labour | -Member |
| 9. Shri Sukh Ram, Minister of Communications | -Member |
| 10. Minister of State for Defence | -Member |
| 11. Col. Ram Singh, Minister of State for Wasteland Development | -Member |
| 12. Shri Debi Pal, Minister of State for Defence | -Member |
| 13. Governor, Manipur | -Member |
| 14. Shri Mohd. Shafi Qureshi, Governor, M.P. | -Member |
| 15. Shri A.R. Kidwai, Governor, Bihar | -Member |
| 16. Shri K.V. Raghunath Reddy, Governor, West Bengal | -Member |
| 17. Chief Minister, West Bengal | -Member |
| 18. Chief Minister, Maharashtra | -Member |
| 19. Chief Minister, Tamil Nadu | -Member |
| 20. Chief Minister, Orissa | -Member |
| 21. Shri Madan Lal Khurana, Chief Minister, Delhi | -Member |
| 22. Shri A.B. Vajpayee, Leader of Opposition/LS | -Member |
| 23. Shri Somnath Chatterjee, MP | -Member |
| 24. Shri Samar Guha, MP | -Member |
| 25. Shri Chitta Basu, MP | -Member |
| 26. Shri George Fernandes, MP | -Member |

27. Ms. Mamata Banerjee, MP -Member
28. Shri Vishnu Kant Shastri, MP -Member
29. Smt. Renuka Chaudhari, MP -Member
30. Shri S.K. Sen, MP -Member
31. Shri Manoranjan Bhakta, MP -Member
32. Shri Ajit Panja, MP -Member
33. Shri Inderjit Gupta, MP -Member
34. Shri Murli Manohar Joshi, MP -Member
35. Shri Sikander Bakht, MP -Member
36. Shri G.K. Moopanar, MP -Member
37. Shri Dilip Singh Judev, MP -Member
38. Shri Chaturanan Mishra, MP -Member
39. Shri Syed Shahabuddin, MP -Member
40. Prof. D.P. Chattopadhyay, Ex-Governor -Member
41. Shri Farooq Abdullah, Ex-Chief Minister, J&K -Member
42. Shri Madhu Dandavate, Ex-MP -Member
43. Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, Ex-MP -Member
44. Shri Tridib Chaudhary, Ex-MP -Member
45. Shri Shashi Bhushan, Ex-MP -Member
46. Col. G.S. Dhillon, Ex-INA representative -Member
47. Capt. Laxmi Sehgal, Ex-INA representative -Member
48. Dr. Bipin Chandra, Jawaharlal Nehru Univ. -Member
49. Dr. Dilip Sinha, Upacharya, Vishwa Bharti University -Member
50. Shri Shanko Chaudhary, New Delhi -Member
51. Shri P.N. Haksar -Member
52. Prof. R.N. Singh, Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University -Member
53. Dr. V.R. Mehta, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University -Member
54. Prof. R.K. Desgupta, Calcutta University, Cal -Member
55. Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta -Member
56. Shri H.Y. Sharda Prasad -Member
57. Ms. Anita Bose, Vienna -Member
58. Justice A.C. Gupta, Retired Supreme Court Judge -Member
59. Shri Nikhil Chakravarty, Mainstream -Member
60. Prof. Bimal Prasad, Ex-Ambassador to Nepal -Member
61. Shri Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar, Ex-Law Minister, West Bengal -Member

- 62. Shri Radha Nath Rath, Editor, Sang, Cuttack -Member
- 63. Dr. Amol K. Mukerjee, Principal Presidency College, Calcutta -Member
- 64. Principal, Scottish Church College, Calcutta -Member
- 65. Shri Aveek Sarkar, Editor, Ananda Bazar Patrika, Calcutta -Member
- 66. Prof. Analesh Tripathy, Calcutta -Member
- 67. Shri S.N. Dwivedi -Member
- 68. Dr. Najma Heptullah -Member
- 69. Smt. Sukhbans Kaur -Member
- 70. Mrs. Anita Pfaff, Augsburg, Germany -Member
- 71. Sri Amiya Bose, Ex-MP -Member
- 72. Secretary, Department of Culture -Member
Secretary

- 2. The National Committee will chalk-out programmes for organising the birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose at the National level.
- 3. The recommendations of the Committee will be considered by the Government for implementation, subject to the rules and practices in force, The term of the committee is with immediate effect and until further orders.
- 4. The Committee has power to co-opt Members.

(ASHOK VAJPEYI)
Joint Secretary to the Govt of India

ORDER

Ordered that a copy of the Resolution be communicated to all the Ministries and Department of the Government of India and all State Govts and Union Territory administrations.

Also ordered that the Resolution be published in the Gazette extraordinary of India for general information.


(ASHOK VAJPEYI)
Joint Secretary to the Govt of India

To

The Manager
Government of India Press
Mayapuri, Ring Road, New Delhi

Copy to:-

1. All Sections of the Department of Culture, Ministry of Human Resource Development
2. All Attached and Subordinate Offices of the Department of Culture, Ministry of Human Resource Development
3. All members of the National Committee for the celebration of the birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose
4. Prime Minister's Office with reference to their U.O.No. 805/11/C/13/95-Pol. dated 16-9-95 and 31-10-95
5. PS to Minister of Human Resource Development
6. PS to Minister of State (E&C)
7. PPS to Addl. Secretary (C)
8. PS to JS(V)
9. DPIO, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Culture, New Delhi (10 copies)


(RAJ KISHORE)

Under Secretary to the Govt of India

भारत के राजपत्र असाधारण के भाग 1, खंड-1 में प्रकाशनार्थ

फा.सं. 15-3/95-सी एण्ड एम

भारत सरकार

मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय

संस्कृति विभाग

...

नई दिल्ली, दिनांक 9. 11. 1995

संकल्प

नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस की जन्म शताब्दी समुचित ढंग से मनाने के उद्देश्य से, भारत सरकार द्वारा राष्ट्रीय समिति का गठन निम्नानुसार किया गया है :-

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. प्रधान मंत्री | - अध्यक्ष |
| 2. मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्री | - कार्यकारी अध्यक्ष |
| 3. श्री चंद्रशेखर, पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 4. श्री वी.पी. सिंह, पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 5. श्री प्रणाव मुखर्जी, विदेश मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 6. श्री एस.बी. चव्हाण, गृह मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 7. श्री पी.ए. संगमा, सूचना एवं प्रसारण मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 8. श्री जी. वेंकटस्वामी, श्रम मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 9. श्री सुख राम, संचार मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 10. रक्षा राज्य मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 11. कर्नल राम सिंह, बंजर-भूमि विकास राज्य मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 12. श्री देवी पाल, रक्षा राज्य मंत्री | - सदस्य |
| 13. राज्यपाल मणिपुर | - सदस्य |
| 14. श्री शाफी कुरेशी, राज्यपाल, मध्य प्रदेश | - सदस्य |
| 15. श्री स.आर. किदवई, राज्यपाल, बिहार | - सदस्य |

16. श्री के. वी. रघुनाथ रेड्डी, राज्यपाल,
पश्चिम बंगाल - सदस्य
17. मुख्य मंत्री, पश्चिम बंगाल - सदस्य
18. मुख्य मंत्री, महाराष्ट्र - सदस्य
19. मुख्य मंत्री, तमिलनाडु - सदस्य
20. मुख्य मंत्री, उड़ीसा - सदस्य
21. श्री मदन लाल खुराना, मुख्य मंत्री, दिल्ली - सदस्य
22. श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी,
लोक सभा में विपक्ष के नेता - सदस्य
23. श्री सोमनाथ चैटर्जी, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
24. श्री समर गुहा, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
25. श्री चित्त बसु, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
26. श्री जार्ज फ्लान्डीज, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
27. सुश्री ममता बनर्जी, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
28. श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
29. श्रीमती रेणुका चौधरी, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
30. श्री एस्. के. सेन, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
31. श्री मनोरंजन भक्त, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
32. श्री अजित पांजा, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
33. श्री इंदरजीत गुप्ता, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
34. श्री मुरली मनोहर जोशी, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
35. श्री सिकंदर बख्त, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
36. श्री जी. के. मूपनार, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
37. श्री दिलीप सिंह जुदेव, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
38. श्री चतुरानन मिश्र, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
39. श्री सैयद शाहाबुद्दीन, संसद सदस्य - सदस्य
40. प्रोफेसर डी. पी. चट्टोपाध्याय,
पूर्व राज्यपाल - सदस्य

41. श्री फारूक अब्दुल्ला, पूर्व मुख्य मंत्री,
जम्मू एवं कश्मीर - सदस्य
42. श्री मधु दंडवते, पूर्व सांसद - सदस्य
43. श्री शील भद्र याजी, पूर्व सांसद - सदस्य
44. श्री त्रिदिब चौधरी, पूर्व सांसद - सदस्य
45. श्री शशि भूषण, पूर्व सांसद - सदस्य
46. कर्नल जी. एस. टिल्लों, आजाद हिंद
फौज के पूर्व प्रतिनिधि - सदस्य
47. कैप्टन लक्ष्मी सहगल, आजाद हिंद फौज
के पूर्व प्रतिनिधि - सदस्य
48. डॉ. बिपिन चंद्र, जवाहर लाल नेहरू
विश्वविद्यालय - सदस्य
49. डॉ. दिलीप सिन्हा, उपाचार्य, विश्व
भारती विश्वविद्यालय - सदस्य
50. श्री शंखे चौधरी, नई दिल्ली - सदस्य
51. श्री पी. एन. हक्सर - सदस्य
52. प्रोफेसर आर. एन. सिंह, कुलपति,
राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय - सदस्य
53. डॉ. वी. आर. मेहता, कुलपति,
दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय - सदस्य
54. प्रोफेसर आर. के. दासगुप्ता, कलकत्ता
विश्वविद्यालय, कलकत्ता - सदस्य
55. डॉ. सिसिर कुमार बोस, नेताजी
अनुसंधान ब्यूरो, कलकत्ता - सदस्य
56. श्री शारदा प्रसाद - सदस्य
57. श्री अनिता बोस, वियना - सदस्य
58. न्यायमूर्ति ए. सी. गुप्ता, सेवानिवृत्त
न्यायाधीश, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय - सदस्य
59. श्री निखिल चक्रवर्ती, मेनट्रीय - सदस्य

60. प्रोफेसर बिमल प्रसाद, नेपाल के पूर्व राजदूत - सदस्य
61. श्री निहारेन्द्र दत्ता मजूमदार, पूर्व-विधि मंत्री,
पश्चिम बंगाल - सदस्य
62. श्री राधा नाथ रथ, संपादक, संग, कटक - सदस्य
63. डॉ. अमोल के. मुखर्जी, प्रधानाचार्य,
प्रेसिडेंसी कॉलेज, कलकत्ता - सदस्य
64. प्रधानाचार्य, स्कॉटिश चर्च कॉलेज,
कलकत्ता - सदस्य
65. श्री अवीक सरकार, संपादक, आनंद
बाजार पत्रिका, कलकत्ता - सदस्य
66. प्रोफेसर अमलेश त्रिपाठी, कलकत्ता - सदस्य
67. श्री एस. एन. द्विवेदी - सदस्य
68. डॉ. नजमा हेपतुल्ला - सदस्य
69. श्रीमती सुखवंत कौर - सदस्य
70. श्रीमती अनिता प्राफ्फ, अम्सबर्ग, जर्मनी - सदस्य
71. श्री बोस, पूर्व-सांसद - सदस्य
72. सचिव, संस्कृति विभाग - सदस्य-सचिव

2. राष्ट्रीय समिति नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस की जन्म शताब्दी
राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर मनाने के लिए कार्यक्रम तैयार करेगी ।

3. समिति की सिफारिशों पर कार्यान्वयन की बाबत सरकार
द्वारा विचार प्रवृत्त नियमों व पद्धतियों के अध्यधीन किया जाएगा ।
समिति का कार्यकाल तत्काल प्रभाव से अगले आदेशों तक के लिए है ।

..../-

220

-5-

4. समिति के पास सदस्यों को सह-योजित करने का अधिकार है ।

॥ अशोक वाजपेयी ॥
संयुक्त सचिव, भारत सरकार

आदेश

आदेश दिया जाता है कि संकल्प की एक-एक प्रति भारत सरकार के सभी मंत्रालयों व विभागों तथा सभी राज्य सरकारों व संघ शासित प्रशासनों को प्रेषित कर दी जाए ।

यह भी आदेश दिया जाता है कि संकल्प को जन-साधारण के सूचनार्थ भारत के राजपत्र असाधारण में प्रकाशित किया जाए ।

॥ अशोक वाजपेयी ॥
संयुक्त सचिव, भारत सरकार

सेवा में,

प्रबंधक,
भारत सरकार प्रेस,
मायापुरी, रिंग रोड,
नई दिल्ली ।

प्रतिलिपि प्रेषित :-

1. संस्कृति विभाग, मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय के सभी अनुभाग ।
2. संस्कृति विभाग, मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय के सभी संबंध व अधीनस्थ कार्यालय ।
3. नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस की जन्म शताब्दी के आयोजन के लिए गठित राष्ट्रीय समिति के सभी सदस्य ।
4. प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय को उनके दिनांक 16. 9. 95 और 31. 10. 95 के यू.ओ. नं. 805/11/सी/13/95-पोल के संदर्भ में ।
5. मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्री के निजी सचिव ।
6. राज्य मंत्री § शिक्षा व संस्कृति § के निजी सचिव ।
7. अपर सचिव § संस्कृति § के प्रधान निजी सचिव ।
8. संयुक्त सचिव § वा § के निजी सचिव ।
9. उप प्रधान सूचना अधिकारी, मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय, संस्कृति विभाग, नई दिल्ली । § 10 प्रतियां ।

राज किशोर

§ राज किशोर §

अवर सचिव, भारत सरकार

Place:

Date:

From

Shri. Dharmanna M. Sadul

To

The Secretary-General,
Lok Sabha, New Delhi.

Sir,

Under Rule 34 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, I give notice of the following
starred Question for answer on 27/11/25

Yours faithfully,

Member.

Division No.

Netaji's ashes

Order of preference

*Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that during his recent foreign tour he met [the] Netaji's wife in Germany and discussed with her in regard to bringing of Netaji's ashes to India;
- (b) if so, outcome of his discussion [therefor];
- (c) whether she has given her clearance for taking the ashes from Japan; and
- (d) if so, details thereof ?

QUESTION FOR LOK SABHA

MOST IMMEDIATE

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
(Question Branch)

SUBJECT : Starred/Unstarred Question Dy. No. 201 for 27.11.95
regarding Nataji's office

The Ministry of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS are requested kindly to state the facts regarding the above question (copy enclosed) as may be relevant to decide the admissibility of the question and also the extent of Government of India responsibility involved in the matter.

2. While furnishing the facts, it may please be stated whether the note has been shown to the Minister. In the absence of any indication to this effect, it will be assumed that it has been issued with the approval of the officer who has signed it. It may, be clarified that the plea of secrecy, public interest or national security may be taken only at the Minister's level.

3. In case the question substantially relates to some other Ministry, as per established practice, the Ministry who in their view is concerned with it may be requested to accept its transfer and convey their acceptance to Lok Sabha Secretariat. In no case, the question should be sent back to the Lok Sabha Secretariat. Until the acceptance is received in the Lok Sabha Secretariat, the question will continue to remain in the name of the Ministry to whom it is originally addressed and if in the meantime it is admitted, it will be admitted also against the Ministry originally addressed.

4. A reply is requested by 20.11.95.

5. It may also be specifically stated whether the Ministry have any objection to the information contained therein being conveyed to the Member.

[Signature]
UNDER SECRETARY
Tel. No.

Ministry of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (Shri V. Tyagi, Section Officer.)
L.S.S. U.O. No. SQ/USQ 201/27.11/95-Q dated 18.11.95

LSS/Q.1/8

59 59 / JS (EA) / 95
13/12

59
3897/EA/95
18492/LS/95
13/12
3610/EA/95
14/12



प्रधान मंत्री
PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
November 25, 1995

Dear Shri Balanandan,

I have received your letter of November 20, 1995 forwarding copies of Professor Samar Guha's letters about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P. V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri E. Balanandan, MP
12, Windsor Place
New Delhi

No. 805/21/C/13/95-Pol

dated: 6.12.1995

Copy along with a copy of the letter under reference forwarded to Director, (FSO), MEA.

Pankaj Saran
(Pankaj Saran)
Deputy Secretary

Sh P

E. BALANANDAN
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(RAJYA SABHA)
(LEADER CPI (M) GROUP)



Office : 12, WINDSOR PLACE
NEW DELHI-110001
Telephone 33 8 4 8 0 6

Resi. : 315, V. P. HOUSE
NEW DELHI-110001
Telephone : 37 3 2 4 7 7

U.U.No.EB/2152 /F-1/95.

Dated: 20.11.1995.

Dear Shri Narasimha Rao,

Enclosed please find photocopy of letters dated 22.5.95 and 27.7.95 of Prof. Samir Guha, former Member of Parliament detailing the steps Government of India should take to find out the truth about the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and a fitting celebration of his birth centenary. Since Prof. Guha has expressed crystal clear the detailed steps to be taken, I am sure you will direct the concerned Ministry to expedite action on his suggestion and ensure that desired goal is achieved early.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Encl: 2.

(E. Balanandan)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister, India,
New Delhi.

001521

PROVISIONAL ADMITTED QUESTION FOR THE
RAJYA SABHA

NIC-RS

Order of
Preference :

NOT Starred/Unstarred Diary No. 0001521
TO The question will be put down for 29/11/95
BE answer on the Ministry/Department EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
PRINTED addressed by the Member(s)

Bringing back Netaji ashes

* SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Will the Minister of
External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any proposal under Government's
consideration to bring back to India Netaji's ashes kept in the Banko
Temple near Tokyo;

(b) if so, whether the consent of Netaji's wife who is
residing in Germany, has been taken for the purpose; and

(c) if the answers to Parts "a" and "b" above be in the
affirmative, what plans are being drawn up to pay a befitting homage to
the great Freedom Fighter ?

R

(29/11)
JST(EA)
27/11/95
W- b
DIR(JK)
SO(JK)

fact
JS(EA)
20/11/95

227

NOTICE OFFICE
Dy. No.
Date

RAJYA SABHA/राज्य सभा
QUESTION FOR ORAL ANSWER
मौखिक उत्तर के लिए प्रश्न

QUESTION BRANCH
S.Q. Dy. NO.
Date

Place/स्थान
Date/दिनांक
New Delhi
16-11-95

FROM/प्रेषक : V. Karayanasamy, M.P. M.P./संसद सदस्य

To/संवा में,
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL/महासचिव,
RAJYA SABHA, NEW DELHI/राज्य सभा, नई दिल्ली।

SIR/MADAM, महोदय / महोदया,

Under Rule 39 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, I give notice of the following प्रक्रिया तथा कार्य संचालन संबंधी नियमों के नियम, 39 के अंतर्गत, मैं निम्नलिखित प्रश्न को सूचना देता हूँ।
Question for oral answer on/जिसका मौखिक उत्तर को दिया जाये।

29th Nov 1995

Yours faithfully/
Member/सदस्य

Division No./विभाजन सं० ...

Order of preference/प्राथमिकता क्रम

*Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state :
*क्यामंत्री यह बताने को कृपा करेंगे कि :

- (a)/(क) whether it is proposed to bring back to India Netaji's ashes kept in the Senkoji Temple near Tokyo;
- b) if so, whether the consent of Netaji's wife who is residing in Germany, has been taken for the purpose and
- c) if answers to 'a' and 'b' above are 'yes' plans being drawn up to pay a befitting homage to the great Freedom Fighter?

12 Nov
Signature
for Govt

278

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Further to conversation between JS (EA) and JS (EW) of 28th November, it is requested that Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1085 on Netaji's Ashes and EAM's visit to Germany for December 4 may kindly be answered by EW Division.

Copies of earlier two replies on the subject are being placed below for information.

(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (JK)
29.11.95

JS (EW)

4608/P/CR/817
1/12

60
239

By SM. newar

MOST IMMEDIATE

PARLIAMENT QUESTION

Government of India
Ministry of Human Resource Development
(Department of Culture)

.....

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Sub:- Lok Sabha Starred Question Dy. No. 3112 for 5.12.95 by Major Gen. (Retd.) Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri regarding Ashes of Subhas Chandra Bose.

This is in continuation of this Deptt.'s O.M. of even No. dated 27th November, 1995 and to say that since this Question has been admitted in the name of the Department of Culture, the available information on the Question may kindly be sent to this Department urgently. A copy of the admitted Question is also enclosed for information and perusal. please.



(RAJ KISHORE)

Under Secy. to the Govt. of India
Tel: 338 48 67

✓
MEA (Attn. Director, Japan & Eastern Countries) S.B., New Delhi
Deptt. of Culture, UO No. 1-13/95-C&M dt. 30-11-95

Copy for information to:

- (i) The Lok Sabha Sectt. (Question Branch), New Delhi
w.r.t. their U.O.No.SQ/3112/5.12.95-Q dt.22-11-95
- (ii) Parliament Unit, Deptt. of Culture

LSUSP 1387 + 5/12/95 CDM
Ashes of Subhash Chandra Bose

✓ 1387. MAJ. GEN. (RETD.)
BHUWAN CHANDRA
KHANDURI:
SHRI LAXMINARAYAN
PANDEY:
SHRI ATAL BIHARI
VAJPAYEE:

TO BE ANSWERED ON 1
DECEMBER 5, 1995

AGRAHAYANA 14, 1917
(SARA)

Will the Minister of HUMAN
RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्री

be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government
propose to bring ashes of Subhash
Chandra Bose from Japan to India;

(b) if so, whether it is proposed to
conduct any test to establish the
genuineness of the ashes; and

(c) if so, the details thereof?

M. 20/12/95 CDM
30/11/95

The Pioneer

30. 11. 95

281

Move to bring back Netaji's ashes opposed in RS

Special Correspondent

New Delhi

THE BHARATIYA Janata Party (BJP) on Wednesday joined the Forward Bloc in the Rajya Sabha to oppose the Government's move to bring back Subhash Bose's ashes from Japan on the plea that reports of his death in a plane crash in 1945 had not been established.

Raising the matter during Zero Hour, Mr V K Shastri (BJP) said that there was no conclusive evidence that ashes at a temple in Tokyo belonged to Subhash Bose.

Two committees - Shahnawaz and Khosla - had not agreed with the view that Netaji died in the aircrash.

Mr Shastri and Mr Joyanta

Roy (Forward Bloc) pointed out that scholars belonging to Asiatic Society had come across evidence to the effect that Subhash Bose was seen in Russia even after the aircrash.

Mr Shastri said that the Supreme Court was now looking into documents that the Government had in its possession relating to the leader's death.

The Forward Bloc member said that Mr Morarji Desai as Prime Minister had made a statement which amounted to not accepting the story about the aircrash. He sought to know as to what was the reason for the Japanese authorities not handing over the ashes to either the Shahnawaz or Khosla committee.

He wanted the Government to take up with the Russian

Government for having access to official records while making a demand for the constitution of a special committee to go into reports that Netaji lived in Russia for sometime after 1945.

Mr Roy said even the British and the American intelligence had not been able to establish that there was any plane crash in which Netaji was reported to have been killed.

When Deputy Chairperson Najma Heptulla remarked whether the member believed that Netaji is still alive, Mr Roy said the nation had a right to know about the leader.

Both of them were of the view that it was a matter of anguish and pain that the Government was planning to bring back ashes from Japan although it was yet to be established whether he died in 1945 or not.

shp

360/P2(C)/95
14/12

5939/JS(EA)/95

12/12

JS(EA)

(11) (282)

No-1147/PI/CA/95

PRESIDENT'S SECRETARIAT
PUBLIC - 1 SECTION

No. : P1- 49200
Dated: 28-Nov-95

Rashtrapati Bhavan
NEW DELHI - 110004

Communication dated nil

from SHRI V. SAVADATTI.....

..... KARNATAKA.....

is forwarded to the secretary to the Government of India,

Ministry of .. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.....

Department of

New Delhi, in continuation of this Secretariat Number

.....

for appropriate action.

2. The communication has not been acknowledged.

DFA placed below Yv

21/12

JS(EA) Etk

R. Kumar

for Secretary to the President.

for info

for info

Pl. Issue

Am

13/12

PA

Yv 16/12

Div (JK)

for info. pl. We may send
a one liner acknowledgement.

JS(EA) in case we before Etk

for info

for info

Yv

18/12

(62) (18)

The Hon'ble prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

Sub : The last days of Netaji Subhaschandra Bose:

An appeal

14/8/45
28/1/46

I am a freedom fighter. I had the pride privilege of staying at the bungalow of one of the Japanese officers in kualalumpur(Malaya) Malesia in these days at the fag end of second world war,

The first Atom Bomb was blasted on 6th August 1945 On Hiroshima and the second on 9th August on Naga Saki. Though the Japanese were powerful is East Asia then, due to devastative effects of bombing the Emperor of Japan Shri.Hiro Hito declared the surrender. That is because there was no war in East Asian countries.

P-J
25/11

At that time Netaji had to decide about his future programmes. His movements were not known to anybody as he was great leader. The news of his demice in plane crash on 18th August 1945 was appeared in the newspaper. When I was there itself. A similar situation when Netaji had to leave India during 1940s was prevailing here also.

Netaji came to kualalumpur on 2nd September 1945 and then left somewhere. On 13th September the britishers took the reign of Malaya.

During the month of March 1946 When Pandith Jawaharlal Neharu visited Malaya along with his sister Krishna Hatheisingh, I have told them the bare truth about Netaji. This fact was made known to all the noble people who visited Malaya then also.

As per my accurate calculations and justifiable prediction at that time netaji went to russia. It is stronglly believed

that the dictator stalin had put Netaji in one of war prisners camps somewhere in saiberia. To ascertain the exact truth the former president Jailsing, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy and Shri S. Nijalingappa had written letters to Gorbo Chev. A A close friend of Netaji Shri.Samar Guha has also written a letter to present President of Soviet Russia. But none of them has received reply.

Now I sincerally feel that our Prime Minister Shri.Narasimha Rao shall endeiviour to get all the available documents in Rassia by writing a letter to Russian President.

The birth centenary of Netaji begins from 23rd January 1996. The Govt as well as other organisations in the country are planning to celebrate birth contenary of Netaji in a befitting manner. At this juncture it is very important and most essential also to have the accurate and true facts about the last days of Netaji.

It is portinent to note here that the struggle for congress Presidentship between Netaji and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is an unforgetable chapter in the history of congress because Dr.Pattabhi was the only candidate supported by all the leaders including Gandiji. In this remarkable struggle Dr.Pattabhi was defeated and he was made president of Jaipur session during December 1948 after the independence. Soon after the independence having return from Malesia I started living in Gandhiji's seva gram Ashrama. I had also the chance of attending Jaipur session with a deep eager to hear what Dr.Pattabhi would say about Netaji.

Dr.Pattabhi in his Presidential speech while deeply morning and paying homage to departed souls uttered the words about netaji That our great leader Netaji Subhaschandra Bose is not with us and of amidst us and for this I regret very much. It is also strange to note that no condofence resolution was either moved or passed at this Jaipur congress session.

Now, the grandson of Netaji Shri Atish Ray has requested the Govt. to conduct D.N.A test of Netaji's chitabhasma. Gandhiji also did not believed the news of plane crash.

Hence it is my sincere and humble request to the Hon'ble Prime Minister Sri.Narasimha Rao to write and get all the documents from the Russian Govt. in view of improved relationship between the two countries. So that the Birth centenary celebration of Netaji will be more meaningful and more glowing in its real sense and spirit,

HUBLI

19-11-1995

Savadatti.
Veerabhadrappe Savadatti.

Freedom Fighter

Shri Siddharudhamath ,Hubli-24.

Karnatak

C.C.

Copy submitted with regards.

1. The Hon'ble president of India, New Delhi.
2. The Hon'ble forighn Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.
3. He The Governer of Karnataka, Bangalore.
4. The Hon'ble Chief Minister of Karnataka. Bangalore.

(63) 786

MOST IMMEDIATE
PARLIAMENT QUESTION

Government of India
Ministry of Human Resource Development
(Department of Culture)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Sub:- Lok Sabha Starred Question Dy.No.3112 for 5.12.95 by Major Gen.(Retd.) Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri regarding Ashes of Subhas Chandra Bose.

The undersigned is directed to forward herewith the L.S.S. U.O. No. SQ/3112/5.12.95-Q dated 22.11.95 (in original) on the above subject for necessary action.

Since the subject - Asshes of Subhash Chandra Bose, pertains to Ministry of External Affairs, transfer of the Parliament Question may please be accepted under intimation to the Lok Sabha Sectt. and this Department.

This issues with the approval of Joint Secretary, Department *of Culture.*

Encl:As above.


(RAJ KISHORE)
Under Secretary
Tele:3384867.

✓
MEA(Attn. Director, Japan & Eastern Countries)S.B.,N.Delhi.
Deptt. of Culture, UO No.1-13/95-C&M dt. 24.11.1995.

27 80 -
Kalyan 3134324
Sunder 3034330
K. Chakraverty
USG
[3381235]
JS

It should not be admitted as
we have just answered
similar one on 27.11 & 29.11
Pl. liaise & ensure that

US/Ju) It does not get admitted.

29.11

QUESTION FOR LOK SABHA

MOST IMMEDIATE

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
(Question Branch)

SUBJECT : Starred/Unstarred Question Dy. No. 3112 for 5-12-95
regarding ashes of Subhash Chandra Bose

The Ministry of HRD are requested kindly to state the facts regarding the above question (copy enclosed) as may be relevant to decide the admissibility of the question and also the extent of Government of India responsibility involved in the matter.

2. While furnishing the facts, it may please be stated whether the note has been shown to the Minister. In the absence of any indication to this effect, it will be assumed that it has been issued with the approval of the officer who has signed it. It may, be clarified that the plea of secrecy, public interest or national security may be taken only at the Minister's level.

3. In case the question substantially relates to some other Ministry, as per established practice, the Ministry who in their view is concerned with it may be requested to accept its transfer and convey their acceptance to Lok Sabha Secretariat. In no case, the question should be sent back to the Lok Sabha Secretariat. Until the acceptance is received in the Lok Sabha Secretariat, the question will continue to remain in the name of the Ministry to whom it is originally addressed and if in the meantime it is admitted, it will be admitted also against the Ministry originally addressed.

4. A reply is requested by 24.11.95.

5. It may also be specifically stated whether the Ministry have any objection to the information contained therein being conveyed to the Member.

Surendra
for UNDER SECRETARY
Tel. No.

Ministry of Human Resource Development (Deptt. of Culture)
(Shri S.N. Singh, D.S.)
L.S.S. U.O. No. SQ/USQ 3112/5-12/95-a dated 22.11.95

LSS/Q.1/8

This relates to
MEB and is to be
transferred to them

CM

STARRED QUESTION

P, 288
2

Subject
Date of Notice
Date of Answer
Priority, if any

From

Shri. *G. M. B. (Khandar)*

To

The Secretary-General,
Lok Sabha, New Delhi.

Sir,

Under Rule 34 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, I give notice of the following starred Question for answer on *12.12.93*

Yours faithfully, *3112*

Member,
Division No. *SP 9*

Order of preference

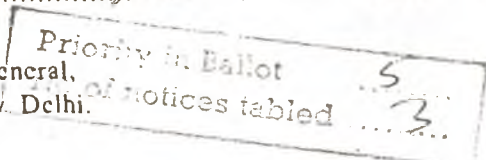
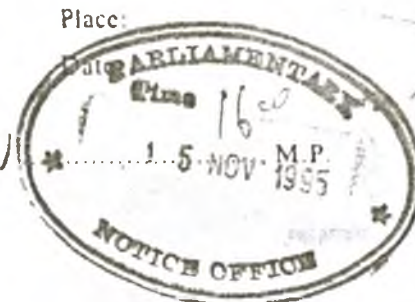
*Will the Minister of *H.R.D.* be pleased to state:

(a)

the Whether Government proposes to bring ashes of
Subash Chandar Bose from Japan to India;

(b) If so, whether it is proposed to conduct any test to
establish the genuineness of the ashes; and

(c) if so, the details thereof?
~~(c) If so, details thereof.~~



*Ashes of Subash
Chandar Bose*

3107/85-4

289

3

US(CAM)

Priority in ballot	:	5
No. of Notices Tabled	:	3

A D M I T T E D

PRIORITY QUESTION FOR THE LOK SABHA

PROVISIONAL STARRED

D.No. 3112

Ministry to which the
day has been allotted : HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

The question will be put down for the
sitting on the :-

05-12-95

ASHES OF SUBASH CHANDAR BOSE

* MAJ.GEN.(RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI:

Will the Minister of HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government propose to bring ashes of
Subash Chandar Bose from Japan to India;

(b) if so, whether it is proposed to conduct any test to
establish the genuineness of the ashes; and

(c) if so, the details thereof?

This relates to MHA.
24/11
So, CM

290

Most Immediate
Parliament Question

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

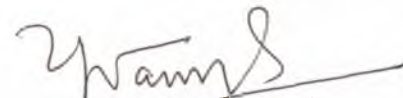
Sub : Lok Sabha Starred Question Dy. No. 3112 for 5.12.95 by
Major Gen. (Retd) Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri regarding
Ashes of Subhash Chandra Bose.

D/Culture

Reference U.O No. 1-13/95-C&M dated 24/27.11.95 ~~from~~
~~Shri Raj Kishore, Under Secretary, Department of Culture with~~
~~regard to the above subject.~~

2. This Ministry has no objection to the question being transferred to this Ministry. However, since the question has already been admitted against Department of Culture, a draft reply is being forwarded for Department of Culture's consideration.

3. *MEH answered*
a question No. — on the same subject & this has been
A copy of our reply is annexed.
~~The draft reply is based on this approved text.~~
The material may be used in drafting a response to LSSD No. — for 5.12.95
admitted in the name of D/Culture.


(Yogeshwar Varma)
Director (JK)
01.12.95

JS (EA)

Deptt. of Culture (Kind attention Shri Raj Kishore, US)

H. Kishore answered
version as a U.O. not as
a note like this.

Dir (EA)

Atty/Secy
7/12/95

(291)

PROVISIONAL STARRED QUESTION DY. NO. 3112

LOK SABHA

PROVISIONAL STARRED QUESTION DY. NO. 3112

TO BE ANSWERED ON 5TH DECEMBER, 1995

ASHES OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI :

Will the MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS be pleased to state :

- (a) whether the Government propose to bring ashes of Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India;
- (b) if so, whether it is proposed to conduct any test to establish the genuineness of the ashes; and
- (c) if so, the details thereof?

ANSWER

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER

(SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE)

- (a) No final view has been taken on this matter till now.
- (b) & (c) : Two Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the Government of India and an enquiry by Japanese authorities have concluded that the ashes in Renkoji Temple are those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

292
Most Immediate
Parliament Question

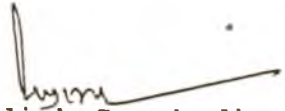
C/125/14/95-JP
Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Sub : Lok Sabha Starred Question Dy. No. 3112 for 5.12.95 by
Major Gen. (Retd) Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri regarding
Ashes of Subhash Chandra Bose.

Reference Department of Culture's U.O No. 1-13/95-C&M
dated 24/27.11.95 on the above subject.

2. MEA answered a question No. 112 on the same subject in
the Lok Sabha on 27th November. A copy of our reply is annexed.
The material may be used in drafting a response to LSSQ No. 3112
for 5.12.95 admitted in the name of Department of Culture.


(Jagdish Parshad)
Under Secretary (Japan & Koreas)
01.12.95

Deptt. of Culture
(Kind attention Shri Raj Kishore, US)
Ministry of Human Resources Development
Shashtri Bhavan, New Delhi

✓ Copy to JS (EA) : For information pl.

9c

The Pioneer

2-12-95

293

Netaji's kin oppose return of ashes

Special Correspondent

New Delhi

SOME FAMILY members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose have opposed the bringing back of his ashes from Tokyo till it was proved that the mortal remains were his.

Former MP Samar Guha on Friday released a letter written to Prime Minister P V Narsimha Rao and the members of the National Committee for Birth Centenary Celebrations of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose opposing the move to bring back his mortal remains without a thorough inquiry into its origins.

Mr Guha said that DNA gene signature tests could possibly establish the claim that these were Netaji's ashes.

His letter states: "We are of

the firm opinion that unless it is unquestionably proved that the ashes, which are now deposited at the Renkoji temple in Tokyo, are that of Netaji, it would be improper to bring these back.

"It is indeed a matter of shame that half-a-century has been allowed to pass since Netaji's death was announced by Japan in an aircrash at Taihoku on 18 August, 1945, and the mystery of his 'death' has remained unresolved till today.

"We feel that one of the important tasks of the National Committee should be to take all necessary steps to settle this matter of great popular concern, once and for all."

The family members have also sought probe into the Russian claims of Netaji being alive after his publicised date of death.

SK-P

The Asian Age

6-12-95

Pranab Mukherjee.

Netaji's ashes to come home

■Continued from Page 1

Bengal Congress leader, and a member of the committee, Ms Mamata Banerjee, told *The Asian Age*, "How can we bring back the ashes when we are not sure whether Netaji is alive or dead. This is a very sensitive issue and there is a lot of opposition among the people of Bengal to the ashes being brought back before it is established whether they are really his."

Ms Banerjee said that "almost everybody" at the meeting agreed that the issue should not be raised now. She claimed that recent researches in Russia had revealed that Netaji was indeed spotted in the erstwhile Soviet Union after his supposed death in 1945.

Meanwhile the committee, headed by the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, decided to constitute a subcommittee to go into the proposals for celebrating Netaji's birth centenary starting in January 1997. Among the proposals that came before the committee was one on celebrating the anniversary in Singapore where Netaji spent a considerable amount of time.

Pranab has promised to bring Netaji ashes home

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Dec. 5: The external affairs minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, has promised the Japanese government that the government would bring home the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, kept in the Renkoji temple in Tokyo, according to reliable sources.

Netaji is believed to have died in an air crash on August 18, 1945 near Taiwan. According to sources in the National Committee for Birth Centenary Celebrations of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the minister has been trying to persuade Netaji's daughter Anita Bose, who is living in Germany, to support his case. But she is said to have turned him down. The Japanese government has been putting pressure on the Indian government to bring the ashes back.

However, a meeting of the National Committee on Birth Centenary Celebrations on Tuesday cautioned the government against a hasty decision on the issue.

Mr Chitta Basu, veteran Forward Bloc MP, told the meeting that the issue was "highly controversial and should not be allowed to cast a cloud on the centenary celebrations." He told *The Asian Age*: "It is not for this committee to decide on whether Subhas Bose is alive or dead. Or if he is alive where and how."

Some relatives of Subhas Bose, opposed to the move, have also written to the committee, saying that unless the mystery of his death is cleared up, and it is "proved unquestionably" that the ashes are Netaji's, it would be "improper" to bring them back.

■Turn to Page 4

Netaji file

SP

(65) (295)


Most Immediate
Parliament Question

C/551/12/93 → P
Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Rajya Sabha Unstarred question No. 1616
Dy. No. 3037 to be answered on 13.12.95
regarding Netaji's ashes (Germany).

The said question has been transferred to EW Division as questions related with EAM's visit to Germany have earlier been answered by them. EW Division has accepted the same.

2. Printed version may, therefore, please be sent to EW Division for answering.


(Jagdish Parshad)
Under Secretary (JK)
07.12.1995.

SO (Parliament)


a/c
sequel
files

C/551/12/93-JP
Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

Rajya Sabha Unstarred question No. 1616
Dy. No. 3037 to be answered on 13.12.95
regarding Netaji's ashes (Germany).

The said question has been transferred to EW Division as questions related with EAM's visit to Germany have earlier been answered by them. EW Division has accepted the same.

2. Printed version may, therefore, please be sent to EW Division for answering.


(Jagdish Parshad)
Under Secretary (JK)
07.12.1995.

SO (Parliament)

7/12

175/03 (942) 195
19/12
13/12 प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय

(66)

184/3/1-11-
13/12

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

3606/Dir 6195
14/12

3810/872/5
19/12

(297)

नई दिल्ली - 110 011
NEW DELHI - 110 011

Please find enclosed for action as appropriate a copy of letter dated 1.12.1995 addressed to PM by Mrs. Chitra Ghosh, International Federation of University Women regarding test of urn and contents of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Pankaj Saran
(Pankaj Saran)
Deputy Secretary

1. Home Secretary

2. Secretary, Culture

✓ 3. Dir (FSO), MEA

PMO U.O. NO. 805/11/C/13/95-Pol(Vol.II) dated: 12.12.1995

an
13/12

~~35 (678)~~ 13/12

35 (678) w. *[Signature]*
Dir 13/12

[Signature]
18/12
19/12

Netaji's file
19/12/95
80 (for) *[Signature]*

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Hqrs. 37, Qual Wilson, CH 1201 GENEVA, Switzerland Tel : 022/731 23 80 Fax : 022/738 04 40

President : 19. 1995

Prof. Chitra Ghosh

3A Palm Place, Calcutta-700019, India

Tel : 247 6585/247 0227 Fax : [+91 33] ~~247 6585~~ 242-6538

Secretary General

Mrs. Dorothy Davies

December 1, 1995

To
The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India
Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
New Delhi.

Sir,

It seems that on the eve of the Centenary Celebrations of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, when the nation is making plans for suitably honouring the great leader, controversy as to the ashes at the Renkoji Temple is clouding the issue.

I (youngest daughter of Sarat Chandra Bose) was the first member of the family, who had gone to Japan in 1974 and was taken to the temple to pay homage to the urn and its contents. There are pieces of bones and other remains in it, the sight of which unnerved me and brought pain. But I do feel that time has come to arrive at a decision and any test or other means that may lead to a conclusive evidence ought to be taken without further delay. I trust that the Government of India under your guidance will take all possible steps to ensure it.

Thanking you,

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,



MRS CHITRA GHOSH

9 / DS (P) / us

The Statesman

12-12-95

299

Doctor confirms Ne

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Dec. 11. — The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose states categorically that the Indian leader died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku, Taiwan on August 18, 1945.

Mr Asish Ray, India-based representative of CNN TV and a grand-nephew of Netaji, says it was only last month that he learnt that Dr Taneyoshi Yoshimi was alive. With the help of a Japanese colleague, Mr Ray says he set up an interview with the doctor. The transcript of the interview with Dr Yoshimi is as follows:

Question: Do you clearly remember the episode of a plane crash at Taihoku, in Taiwan on August 18, 1945?

Answer: Yes. After lunch there was an emergency call from the military airport, saying there

had been a plane accident and that there were several casualties. And that they were being sent to the hospital, so we should stand by and be ready to attend to them.

Q: What time of the day was this?

A: May be it was around two o'clock. I remember we had just had lunch. So it must have been around one or two o'clock.

Q: What was the name of the hospital you were working at?

A: It was the Taihoku Army hospital, South Gate Annexe. And I was in charge of it. I was then a Colonel in the Japanese Army.

Q: If you treated Subhas Chandra Bose, can you recall in what condition he was brought to the hospital and what medical efforts were made to save his life?

A: Mr Chandra Bose was carried to the hospital in a triop with other patients. He was lifted by eight or ten pe soldiers and nurses, to a r His entire body was burnt colour of his skin was oxidized silver. His hair completely burnt. We ar ointment on his skin, gave drip, a blood transfusion sulphur drugs to p

Q: Was he conscious?

A: Yes, he was consci

Q: Since the patient suffered serious burn including perhaps on his f and since in any case S Chandra Bose had featur sembling an east Asian — made you sure that the you were treating was in him?

A: A Lieutenant called

INTERVIEW WITH THE DOCTOR

zee cinema

0900 Goraa
1200 Banphool
1515 Jhanak Jhanak Payal
Baaje
1800 EL TV
2215 Anubhav
0100 Aakhri Daaku

exhibitions

Force auditorium, Subroto Park, Daula Kuan, 7 p.m.

Gallery Espace -
Exhibition of sculpture "Sculpture '95" by 21 sculptors from all over India, Lalit Kala Academy, Rabindra Bhavan, Copernicus Marg, 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Gallery Mirage - Exhibition of drawings by Animesh Roy, 155, Defence Colony Flyover Mkt, 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Art Heritage - Exhibition of recent sculpture by R.K. Tikku, 205, Tansen Marg, 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Urusvati Centre For Contemporary Art - Exhibition of graphics, F-48, Poorvi Marg, Vasant Vihar, 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.

2302 Rajdhani
2304/2382 Poorva
2312 Kalka
2392 Magadh/Exp
2402 Shramjeevi
2418 Prayag Raj
4056 Brahmaputra
5622 N.E.
2554 Vaishali
2816 Puri
2802 Purshottam
9476 Neelanchal
4230 Lucknow

2904 Frontier
2926 Paschim
2952 Rajdhani
★2954 AK Rajdhani
2474 Sarvodaya
1078 Jhelum
@9901 Ahmedabad
@2905 Ashram
★2461 Mandore
★2480 Goa

2616 G.T.
2622 Tamil Nadu
★2432 Rajdhani
2626 Kerala
★2618 Mangla Exp.
2628 Kamataka
2724 A.P.
★2430 Rajdhani
★7022 Dakshin

■ Trains ex-
Note: It does not necessarily
For further details reg
IInd Class.

Dr (FK) Thanks.
13/12
Notaji H
14/12/95 Sh-P



(67)

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

(300)

Yogeshwar Varma
Director (Japan & Koreas)
East Asia Division
Tel : 3011356

No. C/551/12/95-JP

December 21, 1995

Sub : The last days of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose
: An appeal

Dear Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 19.11.95 addressed to the President of India on the above subject.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Y. Varma
(Yogeshwar Varma)
o/c

Shri Veerabhadrappe Savadatti
Freedom Fighter
Shri Siddharudhamath
Hubli - 24
Karnataka



सत्यमेव जयते

(30)

To: Director (JK)
MEA

h
26/12

With the Compliments
of the
Embassy of India, Tokyo

Netaji Bose (KRISHAN SUVAR)
प्रथम सचिव
First Secretary
भारत का राजदूतावास
Embassy of India

US/34
h
no/12

EMBASSY OF INDIA
2-11 Kudan-minami 2-Chome
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102

टोकियो
TOKYO

21/12/95

so y gm

Telephone No,
(03)-3262-2391-7
(seven lines)

A.P

Ashes of Chandra Bose may return to his mother country:
(By Usanai in New Delhi)

As a top leader of freedom struggle in India, Chandra Bose fought against the UK during W.W. II in alliance with Japan. He was killed in an air crash and his ashes have been kept at the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo. Unlike previous governments, the present government of India (and leaders), such as Foreign Minister Mukherjee, has become more positive about the return of Bose's ashes to his mother country in 1996 marking his birth centenary.

Born in bengal, Bose was a senior leader of the Congress. His radical campaign for armed struggle against UK, aroused keen opposition from Mahatma Gandhi and other freedom fighters. He tried to achieve goal of winning independence in alliance with Japan. However, on August 18, 1945 he was killed in a plane crash in Taipei.

In India, there are many people who have not believed his death. "We want to get scientific proof that the ashes kept in Tokyo are those of Bose's, putting the ashes and teeth through a DNA test", said the relative of Bose.

.....

チャンドラ・ボース 東京に眠る遺骨、故国に

【ニューデリー7日】半佐渡旗

第二次大戦中の日本軍とともにインドの独立運動の指導者で、戦後、インドに飛行機事故で死んだチャンドラ・ボースの遺骨が東京の杉並区の瑞光寺に安置されている。来年がボースの生誕100年にあたるため、ムカルジー外相をはじめインド政府は、異国に半世紀以上も眠る遺骨を故国に運ぶのを望んでいる。これまでの歴代政府になかった意欲を見せている。



ボースはベンガルの出身で国民会議派の幹部だった。実力で英領

から独立を勝ち取る運動がガンジーらにいられた。日本軍の力を借りて独立を果たそうとした。

一九四五年八月十八日、台北からソ連へ亡命するため大連に飛ぼうとした際、機が霧に突き込んで墜落して死んだ。

遺骨は印度が返還の話はあったが、インド国内では、ボース生存説を信じる人が多く、返還に反対が強かった。ボースの親類は、

「遺骨や歯をDNA鑑定し、ボース本人であることを科学的に証明したい。そのうえで国民に納得してもらい、故国に送りたい」と主張している。

インド独立運動の指導者／生誕100年でインド政府が意欲

享月

日

期下

星

(夕刊)

1995年(平成7年)12月7日

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Fr you SZ 14/12
JS(EA)

THE FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW DONE WITH
DR TANEYOSHI YOSHIMI ON 9 DECEMBER, 1995. DR YOSHIMI, NOW 82,
LIVES IN THE MIYAZAKI PREFECTURE OF JAPAN. HE WAS THE DOCTOR
WHO TREATED NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AFTER THE LATTER WAS
INVOLVED IN A PLANE CRASH AT TAIHOKU, TAIWAN ON 18 AUGUST, 1945.
THE INTERVIEW SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

QUESTION: DO YOU CLEARLY REMEMBER THE EPISODE OF A PLANE CRASH
AT TAIHOKU, IN TAIWAN ON 18 AUGUST, 1995?

DR YOSHIMI: YES. AFTER LUNCH, THERE WAS AN EMERGENCY PHONE CALL
FROM THE MILITARY AIRPORT, SAYING THERE HAD BEEN A PLANE ACCIDENT
AND THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL CASUALTIES. AND THAT THE PATIENTS
WERE BEING SENT TO THE HOSPITAL, SO WE SHOULD STANDBY AND BE
READY TO ATTEND TO THEM.

Q: WHAT TIME OF THE DAY WAS THIS?

DR YOSHIMI: MAY BE, IT WAS AROUND TWO O'CLOCK. I REMEMBER, WE
HAD JUST HAD LUNCH. SO, IT MUST HAVE BEEN AROUND ONE O'CLOCK OR
TWO O'CLOCK.

Q: WHAT WAS THE NAME OF THE HOSPITAL YOU WERE WORKING AT?

DR YOSHIMI: IT WAS THE TAIHOKU ARMY HOSPITAL, SOUTH GATE ANNEXE.
AND I WAS IN-CHARGE OF IT. I WAS THEN A COLONEL IN THE JAPANESE
ARMY.

Q: IF YOU TREATED SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, CAN YOU RECALL IN WHAT
CONDITION HE WAS BROUGHT TO THE HOSPITAL AND WHAT MEDICAL EFFORTS
WERE MADE TO SAVE HIS LIFE?

DR YOSHIMI: MR CHANDRA BOSE WAS CARRIED TO THE HOSPITAL IN A
TRUCK, WITH OTHER PATIENTS. HE WAS THEN LIFTED BY EIGHT OR TEN
PEOPLE, SOLDIERS AND NURSES, TO A ROOM. HIS ENTIRE BODY WAS
BURNT. THE COLOUR OF HIS SKIN WAS LIKE OXIDISED SILVER. HIS HAIR
WAS COMPLETELY BURNT. WE APPLIED OINTMENT ON HIS SKIN. GAVE HIM
A DRIP, A BLOOD TRANSFUSION AND SULPHUR DRUGS TO PREVENT
INFECTION.

Q: WAS HE CONSCIOUS.

DR YOSHIMI: YES, HE WAS CONSCIOUS.

Q: SINCE THE PATIENT HAD SUFFERED SERIOUS BURN INJURIES, INCLUDING
PERHAPS ON HIS FACE - AND SINCE IN ANY CASE SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
HAD FEATURES RESEMBLING AN EAST ASIAN - WHAT MADE YOU SURE THAT
THE PERSON YOU WERE TREATING WAS INDEED HIM?

DR YOSHIMI: A LIEUTENANT CALLED NONOMIYA TOLD ME THIS IS MR CHANDRA
BOSE, A VERY IMPORTANT PERSON, AND THAT I SHOULD SAVE HIS LIFE
AT ANY COST. THAT'S HOW I KNEW WHO HE WAS.

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WHAT ELSE DO YOU REMEMBER?

DR YOSHIMI: HE WAS IN SEVERE PAIN, BUT HE NEVER COMPLAINED AT ANY TIME. HOWEVER, HE ASKED FOR WATER TO DRINK - IN JAPANESE - SAYING "MIZU", "MIZU" MANY TIMES. HE PASSED AWAY BEFORE MIDNIGHT, POSSIBLY AROUND 11 PM.

Q: WAS SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S ADC, COLONEL HABIBUR RAHMAN PRESENT AT THE FORMER'S BEDSIDE WHEN HE PASSED AWAY?

DR YOSHIMI: YES, THAT'S CORRECT. THERE WAS SOME CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE TWO. I COULDN'T MAKE OUT WHAT THEY WERE SAYING, AS THEY WERE SPEAKING IN AN INDIAN LANGUAGE. BUT MR BOSE SPOKE VERY FEW WORDS.

Q: AS A DOCTOR, WHAT CHANCE OF A SURVIVAL DID YOU GIVE HIM?

DR YOSHIMI: FRANKLY SPEAKING, I THOUGHT IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. HIS BURNS WERE THIRD DEGREE BURNS AND WIDESPREAD. AND IN THOSE DAYS, MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY WAS SUCH THAT IF ANYONE HAD THIRD DEGREE BURNS OVER MORE THAN ONE THIRD OF THE BODY, HE WOULD NORMALLY HAVE NO CHANCE. IT WAS ALMOST CERTAIN HE WOULD DIE. I INSTANTLY RECOGNISED THIS THE MOMENT I SAW HIM.

Q: DID YOU WRITE THE DEATH CERTIFICATE?

DR YOSHIMI: YES.

Q: DID YOU WRITE THE NAME OF CHANDRA BOSE IN THE CERTIFICATE?

DR YOSHIMI: YES.

Q: COULD YOU HAVE WRITTEN THE NAME "ICHIRO OKURA" IN THE CERTIFICATE IN PLACE OF CHANDRA BOSE?

DR YOSHIMI: NEVER WROTE A CERTIFICATE IN THE NAME OF ICHIRO OKURA. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I HAVE HEARD THIS NAME.

WHEN IT BECAME OBVIOUS TO DR YOSHIMI THAT NETAJI'S CONDITION WAS SINKING, HE SPOKE TO HIM THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, YOSHIKAZU NAKAMURA. THE FOLLOWING IS HOW THE CONVERSATION IS REPORTED:

DR YOSHIMI: WHAT CAN I DO FOR YOU?

NETAJI: MY MEN (THOSE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND AND THE AZAD HIND FAUJ) WILL COME LATER, PLEASE TAKE CARE OF THEM. HOW IS THE CONDITION OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL SHIDEI (WHO WAS ON THE SAME FLIGHT AS NETAJI AND WHO DIED INSTANTANEOUSLY)? I FEEL AS IF BLOOD IS RUSHING TO MY HEAD. I WOULD LIKE TO SLEEP A WHILE.

(POSSIBLY A PAINKILLER)

(AT THIS STAGE, DR YOSHIMI SAYS HE GAVE HIM AN INJECTION. NETAJI FELL ASLEEP. AFTER SOME TIME, HE WAS NO MORE!)

HT DIARY

A double appearance

ANITA PFAFF, daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and her husband, Martin Pfaff, who were scheduled to arrive in India as guests of the government on Thursday (Dec. 28) morning, have had to change their plans. Mrs Pfaff was taken ill just as she was getting ready to leave for the airport. She might still make it, if she is well enough by next week, or put off the plans for another vacation.

The Pfaffs, who teach at a German university had been persuaded to visit India during the New Year break when External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee personally called at their home in Augsburg, about 60 km from Munich, last October. The idea at that time was to invite Anita Pfaff for participation in the first meeting of the National Committee set up for the birth centenary celebrations of Netaji. The committee is headed by the Prime Minister. In fact, the first meeting had been scheduled to be held by the end of December to suit the Pfaffs availability.

But as things turned out, the government later felt that December-end might leave it with little time for preparations if the centenary celebrations had to be launched on Jan. 23. So, the date was shifted to Nov. 30. This meeting could not take place due to the passing of Union Minister Dinesh Singh, and the inaugural meeting of the National Committee was finally held on Dec. 5.

Even this meeting must have been hurriedly convened. For Netaji's daughter has been mentioned in the list of members of the National Committee in two places. Some bumbling bureaucrat not particularly knowledgeable even about recent history had her listed separately at two places — by her maiden name (Miss Anita Bose, Vienna) and married name (Mrs Anita Pfaff, Augsburg, Germany). The 72-member National Committee thus, actually, has 71 members only.

Such faux pas apart, the members of the Bose family in Calcutta meanwhile wrote a joint letter to the Prime Minister saying that it was a "national shame" that the "mystery" of Netaji's disappearance had remained a "mystery" even after half a century. They urged the government to persuade the Russian government to release its archival material on the subject so that the theory of Netaji's escape to the former Soviet Union, as recently indicated by three Calcutta historians, could be settled once for all.

The committee finally discovered that it was too early to launch the centenary celebrations since the actual centenary year would begin on Jan. 23, 1997. There was no point in advancing the date by a whole year, especially when it was going to be an election year!

out greeting cards for this Christmas and the New Year. However, the interesting part of these cards is that these have been mailed from an address in the United States of America while the Srinagar address of the sender is printed below the text.

The beautifully printed cards carry an appeal couched in the form of wishes, as its text: "Dear friend, on the joyous occasions of Christmas and New Year, the people of Kashmir remember you and everybody around you. May this Christmas be filled with peace, love and joy. And may the New Year bring health and happiness to everybody around you. Christmas is time for giving and prayers. My people need your prayers and help.

Remember us in your Christmas prayers. Your prayers will bring the gift of peace, freedom and end of repression to my (sic) people. God bless you, your family, staff, institution, and nation".

It is signed by Shabir Ahmed Shah. Born on June 14, 1954 at Kadipora (Anantnag), he was arrested at the tender age of 14 when he organised a demonstration against the visit of Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narayan to the Valley. In 1989, his arrest was a volunteer one in the wake of internecine war between the outfits of terrorists. A few months ago he was released from detention. He at present lives at Rawalpura Colony, a posh area of Srinagar.

Netaji file

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